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SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATIONS IN THE RYUKYU ISLANDS (SIRI)

STUDIES OF OKINAWAN VILLAGE LIFE

by

Clarence J. Glacken
Field Associate in Anthropology

[Title Page]

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PREFACE

When one has completed a work such as this, he realizes, even more forcefully than at any other period of his activity, that its sources in reality lie in the kindness, cooperation, knowledge and patience of others. It is a pleasure to acknowledge this indebtedness at this time.

Dr. Fred Eggan of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago first suggested to me the possibility of undertaking this field study. Mr. Harold J. Coolidge, Executive Director of the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council, under whose auspices and supervision the Scientific Investigation of the Ryukyu Islands (SIRI) Program was conducted, created an atmosphere in which it was possible to pursue one's work freely and independently. I am grateful to him and to his staff. [121]

Funds were made available by the Department of the Army to the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council. I received every courtesy from the military and civilian personnel of the Department of the Army both in Tokyo and in Okinawa. Brigadier General James A. Lewis and the staff of the U. S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands showed a continuing interest, and it was possible to work easily in Okinawa through their efforts. 122

Mr. H. E. Diffenderfer, head of the Civil Information and Education Department, which sponsored this study, gave his full cooperation both in encouragement and in administrative and clerical assistance. I have profitted from discussions with Doctor, then 1st Lieutenant, William Elmendorf and Dr. Allan Smith, both anthropologists, and formerly on the C I & E staff.

I also wish to thank Mr. Richard Varney of the Department of Food and Natural Resources and Taminato Choyō of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency at Nago, Okinawa, for their advice and assistance in matters relating to forestry. Mr. Taminato was most liberal with his time and showed me personally several areas in the northern forest. He should not be held responsible however for errors or misinterpretations in the text.

My indebtedness to the people of the villages is even greater, and here I must confine myself to a few who either through their own knowledge or through the introductions they gave to others made it possible for me to gradually build up the body of information upon which this report is based. 115

In Hanashiro: Nakazato Ushikichi, a farmer and member of the Gushichan township council; Shiroma Kichiji, the present headman and a farmer; Sakemoto Genichi, former headman and operator of the rice mill; Nakazato Masao and his wife; Tokumori-san, a teacher of the Gushichan Junior High School and a resident of Hanashiro; Tamaye Yukio, a school teacher at the same school.

In Minatogawa: Moromizato Shinji, a school teacher of Aragusuku; Tamashiro Kamei, headman of Minatogawa-ikku and a fisherman; Uehara Shōichi,

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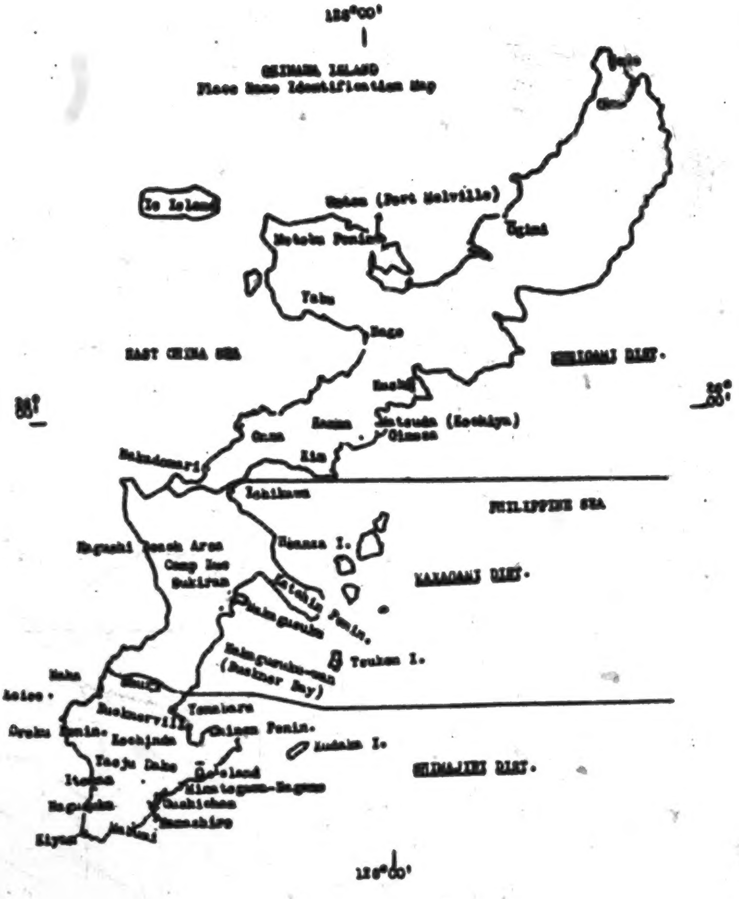
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OKINAWA ISLAND
Place Name Identification Map
Hedo
Oku
Ie Island
Unten (Port Melville)
Motobu Penin.
Ugimi
Yabu
Nago
EAST CHINA SEA
KUNIGAMI DIST.
26°00'
Kushi
Kanna
Matsuda (Koshiya)
Ginoza
Onna
Kin
Nakadomari
Ishikawa
PHILIPPINE SEA
Hagushi Beach Area
Camp Kue
Sukiran
Henza I.
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NAKAGAMI DIST.
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115 head of the Minatogawa Fishermen's Association; Kokuba Jūshin, a farmer and the village clerk; Moriye-san, the headman of Minatogawa-niku and a farmer; Irei Tokujun, principal of the Gushichan Junior High School and a resident of Minatogawa-niku.

My grateful thanks must go also to Mayor Usa and vice-Mayor Miji of Gushichan township, public officials of whom any people could be proud, and to Nakama Chichō of Minatogawa-ikku, Tokumoto-san, and Kokuba-san, also on the township staff.

In Matsuda: Ikehara Seiyei, a farmer, and his wife; Matsuda Kiyoshi, a young farmer; Nagamine Yoshihiro; Urasaki Kokichi, principal of the Matsuda primary school; Yoshida Yoshikatsu, a farmer; and Higa Mataaki and his wife, and Ushiro Tokuye, headman and his assistants in the village office.

I am grateful also to the many residents of these villages with whom I talked and from whom I received hospitality. Without their patience in explaining many points, elementary to them often difficult for me, I could not have accumulated the data that are presented here.

121 The study was begun on July 15, 1951, and I returned to the United States on January 25, 1952. The period from July 15 to August 25 was spent in Hanashiro; from August 26 to October 20, in Minatogawa with frequent visits to Hanashiro, and from October 21 to December 10 in Matsuda. Later the three villages were re-visited for periods of a week to ten days each, following a preliminary analysis of the materials already gathered.

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INTRODUCTION

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The study of human cultures reaches far back into antiquity, and the reasons for the study have remained much the same. Herodotus was interested in the history of Greece and to elucidate this history he found it necessary to discuss the history and the customs of such peoples as the Persians, the Scythians, the Egyptians, and the Babylonians. Like a modern administrator, Strabo in the first century of the Christian era, felt that a knowledge of the geography and of the various peoples living throughout the known world was indispensable to the rulers of the Roman empire. These ancient writers, and many more, sought to explain the differences observed among peoples, and found their explanations in differing physical environments, customs, laws, and religions, or combinations of these.

The moral philosophers of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, devouring the travel accounts from the New World and the Asiatic mainland, and later of the South Pacific, used this new information to discover, so they thought, the way mankind had developed. When Edmund Burke wrote to William Robertson complimenting him on his History of America he spoke feelingly of the opportunity open to him and his contemporaries of seeing all races and types of mankind revealed in a panorama of the present.

In the nineteenth century, the opportunities for scientific travelling were greatly expanded. Alexander von Humboldt in the early years had done much to convince men of the unity of nature amidst all its diversity. Primitive peoples were visited and described, and theories of cultural evolution and of primitive society multiplied. Darwinism brought to the study of man an increased emphasis on adaptation to the environment. The results were that a literature was developed which stressed the growth and progress of peoples and cultures and employed various explanations, some environmental, some racial, to account for these differences. There were great advances in anthropology. To this century also belongs the beginnings of an impressive literature, developed by a very few men, on the great role of human agency in modifying the natural environment, an inquiry associated with the works of the distinguished American, George Perkins Marsh.

(2)

In the increased specialization of the twentieth century, many of these older themes and ideas have become the province of separate disciplines. Scholars are both more and less ambitious. The attempt to understand the development of culture in an ideal series of stages has had to be abandoned by critical scholarship. So have environmental influences and explanations based on racial qualities or endowments. Broad generalisation has given way to a more detailed examination of a culture. The traits found there are significant in their own right to be used, not for reconstructing a hypothetical and universal cultural evolution, but for interpreting a whole culture and the patterns which seem to characterise it. In a sense, this attitude has paraleled a similar point of view in biology,

[P. 1]

121 in the growth of ecological thinking, though this history is older.

But when we say that it has paralleled ecological thinking, we do not mean that the approach should be identical or even similar. In ecology, the plant or animal, as an individual or in association, is studied as part of the community of plants and animals, whose own growth may be encouraged or hindered by the growth and competition from others. When we study human cultures, this functional approach breaks down. It is not enough to show the context of each cultural trait in the whole, indispensable as this may be. This might produce a satisfying interpretation but it would suffer from important omissions. These are the history of the culture and the periods of contact and isolation that may have characterized it and the changes that the culture has made in the physical environment in which it is placed. No place in the world offers such fruitful illustrations over so great an area and over so long a period of time as Southeast Asia, with the exception of the Mediterranean. The great changes in the soils due to paddy culture and the long fertilization from human excreta and plant residues, soil erosion, deforestation, the minute changes of land from mountain tops to the cultivated valleys can be found in abundance here.

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182 This study of three villages on the island of Okinawa is concerned with many of these themes. As the inquiry progressed and during the period of reflection that followed the collection of materials, it seemed that the most significant characteristic was the existence of the family system, and that this had meaning not only in the places where one would expect it, such as family and daily life, and in the desire to respect the memory of the dead and to guard against extinction of the family line, but that its influence was the key to an understanding of the way in which the culture had changed and modified the natural environment and utilized the resources available to it.

The connecting link between the family system, on the one hand, and the use of the natural environment, on the other, is the system of inheritance, and through the inheritance system on land tenure and land use. And when speaking of land tenure and land use, the reference is not merely to the agricultural land, but to all land, including the forest soils of the north, the uncultivated land scattered over the island, but so vital in its production of grasses to the livelihood of peoples.

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824 One of the most striking aspects of this culture is its dependence on plants, not only for food, but for uses other than food. Houses, their roofs and sidings, plank floorings, excepting only the stones; fibres or wood for sandals or clogs; grasses, cane stalks, shrubbery for fuels; imported cottons for clothing, which have replaced an earlier dependence on reeds or banana leaves; fibres and reeds for rugs and floor mats; rice stalks or other grasses for making carrying baskets; rope of palm or of rice stalks; wooden poles, are but a few illustrations of this close dependence on plant life. It is a culture based on the utilization of plants for all purposes to which are added the multifarious and skillful employment of stone and of water.

121 To explain these things properly requires a sense of the conditions which have produced them, an appreciation of the historical depth of the culture. In some areas, one perhaps might neglect history, relying on the interesting present to furnish the correct details. Such an approach would be fatal in any study of this part of the world, and neglect of history is responsible for the fatuous doctrine of the "unchanging East." While this is an investigation of contemporary life, indeed that is the purpose of the program under which the study was made, I have felt impelled to point out historical events and conditions which have brought the culture to its present state, not with any assurance that this has been adequately done, but at least to make clear that these historical problems exist, and that the contemporary culture must be seen as the end product of its historical antecedents, including the hints that can be collected of the modifications of the environment by human agency. The present geography of the island is to be seen, for example, not as something given and unchanging. The forested north and the deforested south are in all probability the direct result of the history of human settlement.

An approach of this type, I felt, could best be served by comparative study. Concentration on one village would have resulted in a deeper understanding of the way of life in that village and closer friendships with the villagers, and these advantages cannot be sensibly minimized. The selection of two or three villages might offset this disadvantage and offer some compensations of its own. One of these was comparison, even though it cannot be assumed that merely because three villages instead of one have been studied that a more valid interpretation of the whole culture has been obtained. Even in this small island, each "typical" village seems to grow less and less so as one learns more of the details. But at least the three situations can provide insight into three basically similar but different ways of living. If this is true on an island barely sixty miles long and eighteen miles wide at its widest point, how great this diversity must be in China, Japan, and Korea!

Upon arriving in Okinawa, I spent the first few days talking with 121
officials who had, in the course of their duties, travelled widely throughout 184
the island. From them I was able to obtain an idea of the different types
of villages, those like Oku in the north that were exceptional, those
that had come under direct American influence due to proximity to civil
and military installations, and those that departed from the pattern of
agricultural life. With these guides in mind, I determined to select one
village whose economy was based on agriculture and this meant primarily [241]
the growing of rice, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and soybeans. The number
of villages that could meet this broad criterion was large, and it did not
seem advisable in view of the shortness of the assignment to spend too much
time in selecting a village, because the criteria of what was typical might
be just as obscure at the conclusion as at the beginning.

Accordingly, I spent a day or so travelling in the general area 114
south of the Chinen peninsula in the townships of Tamagusuku and Gushichan. 121
These were close to Naha, and yet distant from the main centers of American
influence. I was concerned here to select a village which would reflect as 184

114 121 184 much as possible the customary ways of doing things, and though one could not hope for an unchanging or an isolated village, one could find a village relatively so, even if, as was the case with all the villages, they had felt the effects of the deadly campaign for Okinawa.

[164] On one of these trips, I talked with the headman of the village of Hanashiro and then with the officials in the nearby village office of Gushichan, and concluded on the basis of what I saw of the agriculture and the conditions described by these officials, that this small village would be a satisfactory selection. In the beginning, an epidemic of encephalitis made it wise to be away from the village at night and for the first month the investigations were confined to daytime work. This was a serious handicap which I tried to overcome later in the tour by living in the village.

[226] [324] While working in Hanashiro, I had frequent occasion to pass the villages of Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku, and I was impressed with the opportunity to study the life of a village in which agriculture did not predominate, and in which the chief emphasis was on fishing and stonecutting. I therefore decided to include the fishing village, and took up residence there late in August 1951, making frequent trips on the side to Hanashiro.

[361] As interest and awareness increased, I became convinced that another type of village should be added to the agricultural and fishing selections. It should be one in the northern forested area (the Kunigami region). After discussing this with American and Okinawan forestry officials, I followed their suggestion and lived in the village of Matsuda in Ginoza township. It proved to be a good choice, with the possible reservation that Matsuda is somewhat of a model village whose conditions might be better than the average.

The villages needed to be small enough for one man to study. And they proved to be admirable communities for realizing my original intention of showing similarities and contrasts in an agricultural village, a fishing village, and a village in a forest setting.

121 [128] The results do not constitute a complete ethnography of each of the villages. Such was not my intention, and this could not have been done in the time available. The material has been organized around four central subjects: (1) the nature of the family system and its influence through inheritance on land tenure and land use, (2) ways of life as illustrated in the studies of the agricultural, fishing-stonecutting, and forest communities, (3) daily family life as a concrete expression of the family system, and (4) wider community relationships, including political and cooperative organizations, education, and religion.

[311] The basic theme is that a fruitful approach to the study of modern cultures lies in the borderland area between the social and the natural sciences, and that, in the case of these Okinawan villages, the study would take the form of discovering in what ways the people are using their natural environment and the manner in which the culture has changed and

altered that environment to its own uses. I hope that this will result 121
in a broader and a deeper understanding of the manner in which an old 311
culture, subject to frequent changes, with a long history of settlement, has, through its social organization, used and is using its chief resources, the cultivated land, the fish in the seas, the deep stones imbedded in its earth, its forests, and its waters.

There were certain obstacles in carrying out this plan. As everyone 121
knows who has attempted such tasks, after the first few days the apparent simplicities of village life vanish before one's eyes, and he is left with a mass of observations whose ramifications lead in every direction. There is simply no limit to the courses of inquiry which these "simple" villages open up.

There was the problem of distinguishing between what was customary 121
and carried on for this reason and what was of basic living importance in 183
the culture. This difficulty disappears for those who believe that every 189
trait has some significance if it has survived, but this neglects the point that many beliefs and customs belong to segments of a population. To one group what may be done as a matter of form may be of close personal importance to another. Both points are significant, for to do what one is expected to do, even if a pure form, is in itself a fact of importance. This applies especially to religious observances and anniversaries in honor of the dead. In some cases, they seemed perfunctorily performed, particularly among the young and the better educated. The survival of certain beliefs is due to their preservation by segments of the [560]
population, and women seem to be the chief carriers of the devotional and religious tradition. Real differences, too, seem to lie in age groups, [561]
with the dividing line at about fifty-five to sixty years. Many under this age have little understanding of the history or traditional culture. The old, and particularly the old women, have carried on.

Observation in itself is deceptive. Even the grasses, shrubs, and 121
pine trees on the hillsides seem to be a more or less permanent part of the natural environment. Yet these were greatly changed during the war and in local areas grasses have succeeded to places formerly occupied by the pines.

The information was obtained in the following manner. (1) Personal 12
conversations in the Japanese language with residents of the villages. Much of the information was secured by accompanying people to their work, attending their parties, visiting shops, rice and sugar mills, and asking questions about the things seen. (2) Direct personal observation, supplemented by conversations to check the accuracy and the significance of these observations. (3) Information gathered from village land records, statistics, land maps, and family registers. Later there was considerable difficulty in securing comparability in the statistics. For this reason the attempt to present quantitative data was in some cases abandoned in favor of a general qualitative description. (4) General discussions with the personnel of the Civil Affairs Administration and with Okinawans. (5) Personal impressions, but these have been included only when they
are based on repeated observation. (6) In the historical and general 127

127 material, I have depended on published works to supplement my own findings. These sources are acknowledged throughout the work.

128 The organization of the study follows the main topics which have been outlined in the preceding paragraphs. The first chapter is a discussion of the geography of the island, including climate, soils, physiography, and regional differences that exist. This is included for the specific purpose of indicating limiting factors in agriculture and land use, and to make clear that the geographical relationships with continental Asia and Japan have varied throughout history and with the changes in international relations. The voyages following the Age of Discovery, the events leading up to the opening of Japan, the Japanese wars with China (1894-95) and Russia (1904-05), the events following World War I, World War II, and the unexpected emergence of Korea as a major post-war battleground have produced their reverberations in the Ryukyus, especially in Okinawa. We are dealing with an old culture, long settled in the area, and, as a consequence, with modifications and changes of the natural environment dating back millenia. Okinawa has developed by an intensive and widespread conversion of the forests, the soils, the plants, and the small rivers to human use.

In the historical chapter, this idea of a culture modifying the natural environment over centuries is supplemented by a discussion of the intrusive influences which have been brought to bear on its history. [177] These influences range from the introduction of the family system and of the sweet potato to the American Coco Cola. The cultural history is a product of these influences from continental Asia, Japan, and the United States in addition to the changes coming to an environment in which people live close to the land and have sometimes carefully, sometimes carelessly modified,it to suit their needs and tastes.

Within the framework provided by the geographical and historical chapters, the main body of the report begins with a discussion of the types of villages found in Okinawa, a description of each of the villages studied, the physical and historical differences that seem to distinguish them. Following this, there is a discussion of village populations, the effects of settlement, pre-war emigration and post-war displacement and repatriation. The last chapter of this part is concerned with housing. This could have been considered elsewhere, but housing is really a more detailed study of the elements of which a village is composed. Housebuildin and construction are, except for the primary occupations, the most common of all village activities. It seemed logical to follow the technical discussion of housing with the ceremonies of housebuilding, though this too could have been placed elsewhere in the work.

The third part begins with an exposition of social organization as embodied in the family system, a discussion of the small and the extended family, devices such as adoption, and the significance of the household order, or secondary family naming system. The discussion is then shifted to the nature and the effectiveness of inheritance and the manner in which inheritance actually works out in an area of fragmented land holdings.

The nature of the land itself is then explained with emphasis on the historical significance of the old communal land system (jiwari seido) and on the system introduced by the Japanese, slightly over fifty years ago, of private ownership of land. Here I have tried to show that one of the central facts of the culture is the intimate knowledge which the people possess of their land and its capabilities, and that this knowledge is based on experience of farmers, expressed in the system of land classification.

Once the land tenure system and land classification are understood, it becomes necessary to show in what way the land and the soils are being used and conserved. It should be obvious that large populations living off a small island could only have subsisted, as they have in the agricultural lands of China and Japan, by intensive fertilization, minute care of the arable land, and conservation measures. This is extended here to the non-arable lands, for these have an extraordinary significance in the lives and well-being of the people.

With these facts before us, we are in a better position to understand the manner in which agriculture is pursued. In the chapter on agriculture I have been concerned with describing it as something more than a mere technique, a routine of planting and harvesting, but as a way of life bound up with the family system, inheritance, subdivision and fragmentation, land classification, and soil conservation.

Agriculture certainly is the normal way of life in Okinawa. But fishing, stonecutting, the use and the exploitation of the forests are not exotic exceptions. They are important, if secondary occupations, and the materials from Hinatotawa-Nagamo and Matsuda are used to illustrate the use of the waters, the quarries, and the forests. With respect to the forests, I have tried to show their intimate relation to the welfare of the whole island, perhaps neither so intimate nor so crucial as in Japan, but meriting the emphasis which I have given them.

Following the discussion of these topics, I have described in some detail the everyday life of villages, pointing out similarities and differences between villages when these seem to have significance. The main theme here is that in daily life from infancy to old age, the sense of belonging to a culture is never lost, and that it is this fact that probably has brought about the emotional security of Okinawans which has struck many foreign observers. This sense of belonging, I feel, is much more important than the various single explanations, such as breast feeding, that have been urged as causes of the development of a sense of security. Without trying to make sharp distinctions, I have tried to show how the daily life changes with different ages and to follow in the experience of the individual from infancy to the observances which take place at his death, and to make clear that the distinctions between the individual, the family, and the community experience are more literary conventions or devices for convenience in exposition than realities, for there is such a blending of the three that it would be highly artificial to deal with these as separate areas of experience. The two month infant carried on the back of his sister through [181]

128 the village is molded and conditioned to society and the culture in which he will live as effectively in the lanes, the crossroads, and the playgrounds of the village as he is in the home in which he is nursed and put to sleep.

The blending of family life with community life I have tried to document in the last part which concerns both official and unofficial community functions, such as political organisation, neighborhood groups, and associations, education, cooperation, religion, entertainment, and extra-village contacts. While it would be foolish to argue that community life is but an extension of family life as conditioned by the family system, neither can the influences of the family system on the wider community life be ignored, especially when the villages are composed of so many related family groups.

121 Even though the SIRI program was devised with the practical object in mind of furnishing, by this type of investigation, materials upon which a sound civil administration could be based, an objective with which I am of course in sympathy, I felt that this practical value could best be achieved by producing a work which would cover as much of the field as possible and in a manner as if it were not being done for these practical considerations. A dispassionate account of what I saw, the historical and geographical data that could be assembled, the interpretations which seemed to be valid, I considered to be the best possible way of contributing to the end in mind.

By presenting as much as could be gathered, as accurately as possible, I felt that the answers to many questions, which I could not anticipate, would be implicit in a work which otherwise might lose value by too narrow a focus governed by the interests of the moment. For the same reason, while the work covers many aspects of Okinawan life, it is not directed toward specialists. On the contrary, my attempt has been to present a picture of the life of these villages, trusting that those who use it or read it will find suggestions or points of view or relationships which I had not suspected, and thus indirectly open up new avenues of inquiry.

PART ONE

THE GREAT LOO CHOO

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CHAPTER ONE

CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY AND THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

1. Okinawa, Asia, and the Pacific
2. Regional Differences on Okinawan Island
3. General Climatic Conditions
4. The Disappointing Soils
5. Conclusion

1

Okinawa, Asia, and the Pacific

The Ryukyus, of which Okinawa, the Great Loo Choo of the nineteenth century explorers, is the largest island, is an arc, really the summits of submerged mountains, extending in a southwesterly direction from the Kyūshū node almost to the island of Formosa. The arc is bowed outward and the archipelago forms a tenuous boundary separating the East China Sea from the Pacific. 131

The islands may be thought of as a link in a chain of peninsulas and archipelagos shaped like a rough semicircle from Korea to Kyūshū, the Ryukyus and to Formosa, thence to the mainland of China. These peninsulas and the island chains and the coastal mainland, together with the Wei, Lo, and Fen valleys in the Hwang-ho northward bend, have been the scene of cultural intermingling from ancient times, but the area still awaits comparative study as a whole.

The direct and indirect influences which, considering its geography and insular position, have done most to fashion the culture of Okinawa have come from China, Korea, and the Japanese islands, in early times southwestern Japan, especially Kyūshū. With the exception of the visits of European missions and squadrons in the nineteenth century, Western ideas came from Japanese sources. Okinawa, in the great era of the expansion of European ideas and influence in the nineteenth century, was exposed to Westernization indirectly through Japan. 179

Geographical relationships change with the times, shifts in the power of empire, and changes in trade. To the late nineteenth century observer, and indeed to the twentieth as well, Okinawa seemed one of the most isolated and unexplored spots in a part of the world which had been known to the West for centuries. This isolation was more a product of history than of geography. "Each year," wrote William Furness in 1897, "finds the Luchu Islands more and more important, commercially, to the Japanese government, although as yet, they are but little known to the busy world which sails past them to and from the markets of China, Japan, and the Far East."[1] Yet, from the middle of the fourteenth to the second half of the sixteenth century, Naha in Okinawa was a port of call in a trade route which included Korea, Japan, Siam, and Malaya. Malacca was the central port of this trade. It has been estimated that there were at least forty-four voyages out of Naha to these lands in the 138 year period from 1432 to 1570.[2] 131 175

[1] William H. Furness III, Life in the Luchu Islands. Bulletin of the Free Museum of Science and Art of the University of Pennsylvania, 2 (1899), 1.

[2] This trade will be discussed further in the next chapter with sources cited there.

175 648 This nineteenth century conception of the Ryukyus as remote and isolated islands in a part of the world in which travel and trade had reached a high degree of development continued unabated to the beginning of the war in the Pacific. The reasons were entirely political. The Ryukyus were part of that walling off process which characterized Japan's policy and strategy toward its island mandates and possessions since the end of the first world war. Okinawa might well have become, as some of the English and American explorers of the nineteenth century hoped, a crossroads of importance in world trade. If it had, it would only have repeated a role it played centuries before.

Since the invasion of 1945, worldwide political realignments have given it a new, and perhaps its most important significance. Its general geography has remained the same. It is the history since the war, and the shaping of ideologies that have brought about this change. Before 1945, Okinawa was regarded by the Japanese as the outer fort and protector of the home islands; during the war, it became the important strategic spot, from the American point of view, for the contemplated invasion of Japan. With the Korean war, it has been transformed from a small outlier in the Pacific to an important strategic center off the Asiatic mainland.

2

Regional Differences in Okinawa Island[3]

131 133 Okinawa, the largest of the islands in the Ryukyu chain, is about 485 square miles in area, 510 including its offshore islands, such as the Keram

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 12--Analyst]

114 [3] A cultural geography of Okinawa is a real desideratum. But this is outside the scope of this work. Many materials have been brought together in memoranda, published and unpublished, surveys and the like, since the close of the war and the beginning of the American occupation. Lacking a newer synthesis, it seemed foolish to lengthen this report by merely repeating the published materials already available. The intention in this chapter is merely to indicate some of the general considerations helpful in understanding the history of the island and of contemporary life in the villages described. For the pre-war
114 113 geographical materials see Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo) Islands, OPNAV 3-13, 3-38, the sections on geography and resources, and passim. Interesting information regarding local geography is scattered through the pages of Okinawa, The Last Battle, and for a general statement, see pp. 7-14. See also Walter R. Hacker's chapter on the Kurils and the Ryukyus in Geography of the Pacific, edited by Otis Freeman, New York and London, 1951, and M. Y. Nuttonson, Ecological Crop Geograph and Field Practices of the Ryukyu Islands..., 11-58. For the geology, see, the CA Handbook, 11-12, Nuttonson, 29-36, and Engineering Geology, Okinawa (Prepared by Military Geology Branch US Geological Survey for Intelligence Division Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC, April 1951). This contains an Engineering Geology map of the island. For general relationships in this area see Trewartha, Glenn. T. Japan. A Physical, Cultural, and Regional Geography, v-ix, 3-4, and the map on the arcs and nodes, 1.

chain, Ie, Iheya, and Kudaka islands. The main island is about sixty miles long, its length running generally northeast to southwest. It has an irregular coast line, peninsulas which jut out into the sea, and two isthmuses, one near present Camp Kue, the other farther north at Ishikawa. The width of the island varies from two to eighteen miles. 133 131

Okinawa may be divided into three geographical regions, which also roughly correspond to the ancient division of the island into a northern district (Kunigami or Yambaru), a central district (Nakagami), and a southern district (Shimajiri). [631]

The northern district takes up about two-thirds of the area of the island. It begins at the northern isthmus which runs from Ishikawa town on the Pacific side to Nakadomari on the East China Sea side. South of this line, the island runs more or less in a north-south direction; north of the line, the island is situated in a pronounced northeast-southwest direction. Certain features distinguish this northern area from the two southern parts of Okinawa. A mountain ridge, almost entirely forested, runs down the center. Drainage from the short streams which rise in the mountains is down the east and west slopes. Villages and towns are on or near the coastal flatlands or on the coastal rolling hills. There are few settlements in the interior of the northern part of the island. 131 631 133 [137] [361]

The central region of the island extends south from the Ishikawa-Nakadomari isthmus to the Naha-Yonabaru line. A corridor beginning on the eastern side at Yonabaru on Buckner Bay (formerly Nakagusuku-wan) connects with a long valley beginning around Naha. This provides a natural route cutting across the southern part of the island. The central region is the area of oldest settlement. It and the region to the south were the areas of the most intensive warfare during the campaign for Okinawa. The central region has a patternless physiography. Low rolling eroded hills, stony hills with sharp relief, dissected uplands and escarpments alternate with small alluvial valleys and flatlands. On these and on the lower slopes of the less stony hills cultivation takes place. Limestone sinks and caverns are commonplace. The most rugged terrain in this area is the region around Shuri and its northern approaches, the scene of the most prolonged fighting of the war in Okinawa. Unlike the north, settlements are scattered throughout the countryside, usually on the low lands at the base of hills, along the coasts, or in narrow winding valleys with low passes leading from one to the other. [487] [361]

The third region of the island extends from the Naha-Yonabaru line to the southern tip of the island. It is like the central part in the haphazard distribution of its land forms but somewhat flatter. Part of it is a limestone plain. The highest elevations are around the hills and mountains along Buckner Bay, with its narrow flat coastal strips, and along the southern portion of the Chinen peninsula, which also has flat beaches and beach ridges. It is an area of small plains, long, narrow but steep limestone mountains, and of rolling hills, escarpments which often abruptly end on the water's edge. In the area of one of these escarpments, Yaeju Dake, the final battle scenes of the war took place. The settlement

The settlement

131 pattern is similar to that of the central part. Villages are scattered
631 throughout the area with population distribution comparable with the cen-
133 tral area. Before the war, the densities here were over one thousand per
361 square mile, actually considerably more if the uninhabitable lands are
[161] subtracted.[4]

311 How long this settlement pattern and these regional differences have existed is difficult to say. In studying contemporary environments, like Okinawa, which bear the imprint of long human settlement, it is useful to try to reconstruct the nature of the landscape before the interference of man. At one time, the whole island, with the exception of stony, rocky, and shallow soils and beach and marsh land was covered with forest. There are now no virgin stands. "It is evident that the present forest has been cut over many times. There seems to be no part of the island in which the forest cover has not been disturbed in some way by man."[5] In this light, the regional differences between the forested north and the deforested south are the work of man.

361 The oldest settlements are thought to have been in the Naha and
Shuri areas. Kudaka Island, off the southeast coast, according to one
legend, was the site of the supernatural creation of the Okinawan people.
[173] The town of Unten, the Port Melville of Captain Hall and Commodore Perry,
was, in one version, the scene of the landing of the Japanese warrior,
[174] Tametomo, but this was in the twelfth century. Northern areas were in-
habited prior to the unification of the island in the twelfth century be-
[161] cause they had their own regional chieftans before this. But the popula-
tion of the north, at least up to the war, has been sparse and scattered.
If the forests are any indication, it has been the central and southern
regions which have been the scenes of longest settlement. Probably the
[177] settlement pattern had not changed much until the Japanese interventions
of the nineteenth century and the great changes coming with the recent
[178] war, and with the extensive modifications which the Americans have made
in the landscape of the central region.

3

General Climatic Conditions

132 In the Köppen system, Okinawa has a humid subtropical climate. It is a rainy climate with no marked dry season; it has a mild winter and the temperature of the warmest month is over 71.6°F. The average annual temperatures in Naha range from 61° for January and February to 82°F for July and August, and the range from the mean minimum of 55° in February to the

[Text continues top of p. 14--Analyst]

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[4] See the population distribution maps in CA Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo Islands, 48-49.

[5] Okinawan Forests. (Prepared by the USGS, Military Geology Section under the direction of Office of the Engineer, GHQ, Far East Command), 1948, 2.

mean maximum of 89°F in August is only 34°.

Rainfall in Okinawa, though variable, is heavy. On the average there are at least 16 rainy days each month in Naha, but there are pronounced seasonal differences in the amount of precipitation. The rainiest season is from May through August, with a slight drop during July. The months of lowest rainfall are from December through March, with a slight increase in January.

These averages conceal significant fluctuations in the amount and distribution of rainfall, which are brought out to some extent (though these too are averages) by the statistics on maximum and minimum fall per month. The figures for maximum fall in 24 hours show that heavy rains can occur at any time of the year. (See Table 2).

This pronounced annual rainfall and the green vegetation which it produces were no doubt the reason that earlier voyagers were convinced of the luxuriance and fertility of Okinawa, just as similar mistakes were made with the fertility of the tropical rainforest soils.

From the standpoint of agriculture, these reservations must be made about the rainfall. (1) There is, as explained above, a marked seasonal variation for the island as a whole. (2) Though the island is small, there are significant variations from place to place. The regime for Naha may be similar to Nago in the north, for example, but the distribution and the quantity may vary. (3) There are significant monthly variations in the same locality from year to year, a fact obscured by averaging monthly precipitation for a twenty or twenty-five year period. This is clearly brought out in the following table of rainfall of Kochinda, chosen because it was closer than Naha to Hanashiro and Minatogawa.

Table 1

Precipitation at Kochinda
(In Millimeters)

	1921	1925	1930	1935	Ave. 1921-35
Jan	201	143	331	118	137.5
Feb	246	84	103	161	145.2
Mar	287	227	250	259	183.2
April	95	160	61	339	155.9
May	323	98	382	223	212.1
June	230	120	156	314	282.4
July	27	153	355	159	148.0
Aug	416	141	97	91	267.4
Sept	137	273	240	292	211.8
Oct	43	178	578	179	140.3
Nov	71	74	96	72	125.1
Dec	152	72	91	121	114.0

Source: Meteorological Office, Naha, September 1951. Since the point illustrated is the probability of monthly variations by year, the whole 15 year series has not been reproduced.

132 There are further local variations. Thundershowers often occur over a limited area. This precipitation is described by Okinawans as katabui, by which they mean a scattered, here-and-there rainfall.

These variations in rainfall throughout the year and from year to
[131] year are the source of complaints of drought, frequently heard in the
summer growing and fall harvesting season from July to October.
[217] Dr. Green of Commodore Perry's staff mentions that droughts were spoken
of in an official Loochoo document.

There is also hidden drought caused by the rapid runoff of water and
[134] the absorption of water by permeable soils and quick subterranean drainage.
Water for crop growth is thus immediately dependent upon rainfall which
[133] must be immediately used before it becomes inaccessible. There are no
snowy mountains to store the water for gradual use.

Since it is in a zone of mixture of warm and cold air, Okinawa is cloudy a great deal of the year. The days with the highest percentage of sunshine occur from June to October. There is very little condensation near the surface and fog is uncommon.

Relative humidity is high throughout the year. On the average, it does not fall below 74% (in December), and the highest average is 85% in June. This condition produces a hot humid summer, often with overcast skies and it also brings about a felt or sensible temperature much colder in winter than the temperature would indicate. Okinawan winters may be cold, especially with the winds from the northeast and east northeast. Blankets and heavy clothing do not hold the bodily heat. The insulating value of clothing and blankets seems to be reduced.

Okinawa is also affected by monsoonal influences in southern Asia. In the summer, the basic factor is the heating of large masses of continental air, the creation of low pressure areas, and the transport of air from the ocean to the continent. Prevailing winds are from the east, south, or south south east, or east south east, but here the prevailing should be stressed. Actually in a given period winds may shift and flow from varying directions.

In the winter, it is the air over the ocean that is warmer and the dry air from the cold high pressure areas blows out over the island. Prevailing winds from October through January are from the northeast. Though the mean velocities are modest, strong winds are recorded for every month in the year, winds either from the continent, or typhoons originating in the oceans north of the equator.

132 Another modifying factor is the Japanese current (Kuroshio). This
133 current is really part of the North Equatorial current thought to have
its origin on the Pacific side of Central America. As the current crosses the Pacific, it gets added colder water from the California current, and is further mixed with tropical and north Pacific waters, and later with western North Pacific waters. The North Equatorial current divides east of the Philippines, its northern arm going along the east side of the

northern Philippines and Formosa. From Formosa, these warm waters continue 132
northeast between the Ryukyus and the shallow parts of the China Sea. In 133
August the current flows on both sides of the islands. The behavior of the
Japanese current in this area is strikingly similar to that of the Florida
current of the Gulf Stream.[6]

The Ryukyus are in one of the great typhoon areas of the world. The 132
season is from May to October, times of low atmospheric pressure, when the
average range is from 1007 to 1015 millibars compared with a November-April
range of 1015 to 1021 millibars. The period usually described as the typhoon
season actually represents minimum expectations, for, as the table shows,
typhoons have occurred in every month of the year, with the lowest incidence
in April. The range from a minimum of twelve to a maximum of forty-five
shows the reasons for uncertainties and the uneasiness with which the weather
is regarded in the islands. The period of most frequent typhoon incidence [731]
coincides with the growing season, and violent typhoons can be expected as
a matter of course prior to the winter rice harvest.

In typhoons, heavy winds, and gales, damage from salt water spray, 132
especially in cultivated strips along the coast, can be expected. Local 133
topography has a determining influence on the direction and area of spray
damage, but some farmers in the Nagamo area estimated that spray damage [311]
had extended inland in some cases for two miles. There is also the problem
of the saline content of rainwater.

Okinawa has a marine climate modified from what one might expect of 132
its latitude by the monsoon regime which affects southeast Asia. When we understand this, the nature of the rainfall and its distribution, the possibility of drought, and of typhoons and their destructiveness, we are are in a better position to appreciate the difficulties under which agriculture must be practiced.

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[6] Sverdrup, Johnson, and Fleming, The Oceans, 718-22 and the literature there cited. Wust has pointed out in detail the similarities between the two currents. One difference is that the salinity of the Kuroshio is less and its waters are subject to excessive cooling in winter by the cold winds from the continent. See also Nuttonson, as cited, 20.

TABLE 2, CLIMATIC DATA, NAHA CITY

Weather Element	Ann	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
Ave. Temp. °F a/	72	61	61	64	70	74	79	82	82	80	75	69	64
Mean Maximum	78	67	67	70	76	80	85	89	88	87	81	75	70
Mean Minimum	66	56	55	59	64	68	75	77	77	75	69	64	58
Relative Humidity a/	79	75	75	77	81	83	85	81	82	81	78	76	74
Mean Precip. inches a/	82.8	5.3	5.4	6.1	6.1	8.9	10.0	7.1	10.0	7.1	6.6	5.9	4.3
Max. Fall, 24 hours b/	16.8	5.9	3.5	7.8	13.9	8.1	7.2	9.1	9.7	7.3	9.8	16.8	4.2
Max. Fall, month c/	28.01	6.4	12.1	13.4	20.3	18.6	28.0	15.3	22.6	15.7	24.9	20.9	9.9
Min. Fall, month c/	0.6	1.2	0.7	1.7	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.4	0.9	0.9	0.6	1.7
Rainy Days a/	202	19	17	18	16	17	16	16	19	17	16	16	17
Cloudiness, % a/	70	75	79	78	76	77	76	60	59	55	60	71	73
Cloudy Days	171	17	17	19	17	18	16	9	9	8	10	15	16
Clear Days	20	1.0	0.6	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.9	2.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0
Sunshine, % in Daylight	43	30	30	32	37	38	50	64	58	58	49	38	34
Foggy Days	0.8	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1
Atmospheric Pressure a/ in millibars	10141	020	1019	1017	1015	1011	1009	1008	1007	1009	1015	1017	1020
Prevailing Winds: d/													
Mean Direction	ENE	NE	NNE	NE	E	E	S	SSE	ESE	ENE	NE	NE	NE
Mean velocity	8	10	10	8	7	6	6	6	7	8	8	10	10
Strongest Wind Recorded													
Direction	ENE	NNE	N	N	N	NNW	W	ENE	ENE	ENE	NNE	NW	NNW
Velocity, mph e/	100	39	40	54	50	44	53	58	52	100	76	74	38
Thunderstorms, No. of Days	20.6	0.2	0.8	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	1.0	0.7	0.8	0.1
Gales, Ave. No. of Days	8.4	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.5	1.2	1.0	1.4	1.2	1.0
Gales, Max. No. of Days f/	28	4	2	1	0	0	1	4	4	2	5	3	2
Min. No. of Typhoons g/	12	0	0	0	0	2		1	3	2	1	0	0
Max. No. of Typhoons	45	3	3	3	1	5	3	5	6	5	5	3	3

a/ Data compiled over period of 30 unspecified years, b/ 39 unspecified years, c/ 40 unspecified years, d
d/ probably 30 unspecified years, e/ over 20 unspecified years, f, over 8 year period, g/ period not given.
Source: CA Handbook Ryukyu Islands, 5-11.

I: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953

AC7 Okinawa AC7

4

The Disappointing Soils

Okinawa is small and has a large population. Agriculture has been and will continue to be the main source of livelihood for the people. For this reason, a consideration of the nature of its soils has practical interest. The soils of Okinawa fortunately have recently been surveyed, classified, mapped, and computations made of the approximate areas of each soil type.[7]

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[241]

Estimated
Acreage on
Okinawa
Island

134
133
[311]

1. The alluvial soils of the coastal flats and flood plains (Akamaru and Aha soils). About 80% of these are the gray clays given over to rice fields, and 20% in the brown and well drained Aha soils. These soils have no distinct profile, average more than six feet in depth, are slightly to medium acid. Deep and fertile, they are composed of loam, clay loam, and sandy loams. They are scattered over the island, frequently at the heads of bays or inlets where the short rivers come to the sea. The most conspicuous occurrences are in the Northern region, including the Motobu peninsula. They are much less frequent in the central district, and scarce in the southern district, with the most conspicuous spots along the Minatogawa river and the headwaters of a small stream south of Minatogawa. These soils are level or almost level (surface gradient 0-1.3%). The water table is seldom more than two feet below the surface. 10,900

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 19 -- ANALYST]

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[7] The following materials have been used: (1) Soils of Okinawa, 11 sheets, controlled photomaps, with soil map overprint, prepared under the direction of the Engineer, Far Eastern Command, by various staff members of the US Geological Survey, Dept. of the Interior, and the Soil Survey of the USDA. (2) Okinawa Soils, a more generalized map, on one sheet (1:1,000,000) prepared by the Military Geology Branch, USGS, for the Intelligence Division, Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC, 1951. This is a map of dominant soil types. The analysis here is based on this unclassified map. See also the discussion in Nuttonson, as cited, 37-48. The writer wishes to acknowledge the courtesy and assistance of Mr. Sherman Neuschel, Chief, Military Geology Section, FEC, and Mr. Carl Stensland, Soil Scientist, who participated in the survey of Okinawan soils. In Tokyo on my return, I profited from my discussions with Dr. Stensland, who also furnished me with grid computations for the village areas in which I was interested.

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Estimated
Acreage on
Okinawa
Island

134
133
[311]

2. The alluvial clays of the coastal flats and flood plains (Awase clay). These are also deep and fertile. Lack of water prevents extensive rice cultivation. About 60% of the area is in sweet potatoes and other dry land crops, another 30% in settled areas or military installations, and 10% in rice. These are olive, gray colored soils, of calcareous clay. They also have a low surface gradient. The water table is close to the surface, about two feet on the coasts, and near the surface in the interior valleys, except that in dry periods, it might be five feet below the surface or entirely absent. The soils are slowly permeable and slowly drained. They are almost absent from the north, common but scattered in the central and southern regions. About three-fourths of the area is found on coastal flats and one fourth on the bottoms of inland valleys. The greatest area is the coastal strip along Buckner Bay from the Katchin peninsula to Yonabaru, Bucknerville, most of the perimeter of the Chinen peninsula, a narrow strip in the Sukiran, Camp Kue coastal area, and another strip along the coast south of Naha. 16,200

3. The grayish brown loamy soils (Shioya loamy sand) with limestone grains, minor impurities and some organic matter, usually resting on coral sand. The soils, too porous for rice culture, have low fertility, and are nearly level on the raised beaches. They are widely scattered along the entire coast, but the individual patches are very small. Due to low fertility and the small area, the soils are not important. [311] 2,650

4. The clay loams and the stony clays (Okinawa clay loams and Chinen stony clays). Both occur on limestone plains. These are fertile and well drained. "Both are very crumbly, or strongly granular; although clayey and plastic, they are porous, permeable, and of good tilth." Generally these soils are neutral with a tendency toward acidity when depth to limestone exceeds ten or fifteen feet. Seventy percent of this group is the Okinawan clay loam, with a top soil of a dark brown clay loam five to ten inches thick. Of the clay loams, totalling 30,500 acres, 22,400 have a surface gradient of 2-8%; 5200, 8-15% and 2900, 15-25%. 30,500

The stony clay (Chinen stony clays), "the shallow stony soil occupying 30% of the unit, consists of dark-brown to brown clay or clay loam with loose fragments and outcrops of the limestone bedrock." Stone occupies 10-30% of the surface of these soils. Over half of the 12,000 acres is gently sloping (2-8%), the remainder being steeper (8-15%) 12,000

Estimated Acreage on Okinawa Island

These soils on limestone plains are found chiefly in the central region, the extreme south, and along the northern coast of the Motobu peninsula. There are sizeable individual units throughout the island and on the offshore islands. These soils were found in the environs of all the villages studied.

5. The gently sloping Shuri clays. They are olive colored calcareous clays, slowly drained and moderately fertile. They are scattered in the central and southern regions. 9,300

6. The Upland Shuri Clays and rough broken land. The crumbly clay soils are "over bedrock of compact impervious clay." Sixty percent of the unit resembles the Shuri clays, but the soils are shallower and the slope is steeper. The steep areas are even shallower, and there are frequent outcrops of raw clay bedrock.

Sloping and hilly upland	18,200	
Steep escarpments	11,200	29,400

These soils dominate the landscape of the eastern part of the central region and much of the south. They are not found to any degree in the northern area. The gentler sloping parts are in dry land crops, but much is also idle land. The steep parts are in grass or in brush, the familiar genya land.

7. The Ishikawa loams. These are deeply drained acid soils of low fertility. The thin surface is of a pale brown friable loam. It is an area suited to forestry. Of the 42,780 acres in the unit, 4480 are moderately steep, 3400 hilly, and 34,900 steep. 42,780

8. The shallow and acid soils of the mountains and hilly upland. These are the soils of low fertility of the northern forested area. They are shallow light colored acid loams with a prevailing gradient of 50-100%. 119,000

9. Rough stony land of limestone mountains and steep slopes. These patches occur in narrow ribbons throughout the island, but are most conspicuous along the Motobu peninsula, and the central region. The finger like ridges of the extreme south are notable examples. 14,900

If these acreage estimates are summarized showing the approximate areas for different types of land use, the

311 magnitude of the land problem stands out clearly:

Type of Use	Acreage
Total	287,630
Rice Fields	10,420
Dry Land Crops	57,715
Town Sites, Military Uses, etc.	19,595
Shrub, Grasses, Stony Land, Escarpments	27,800
Forest	153,900
Not Broken Down a/	18,200

a/ Probably mostly cultivated land with some in town sites, some idle, some in military installations.

What stands out is the high percentage of land in forest, shrub, grasses, stony land and escarpments that has little promise for future utilization. These soils now probably enjoy their best utilization.

[108] With a growing population and more economic activity, it is likely that areas in man made installations and settlement will increase, not decrease, and that further land for these purposes will come, not from the stony or forested soils, but from the arable land.

The soil survey documents what is apparent to general observation that the soils suitable for rice, and having water for its successful growth, are a minor percentage of the total area. The chief foods, it is apparent, must continue to come from dry land crops and slope cultivation.

134 311 Even though agriculture is and will continue to be the basis of the islanders' economic life, the lack of suitability of the soils for this purpose is especially striking. Improvement of agriculture, introduction of better methods of farming, the increased use of fertilizers, while effective, could only be a palliative when the total arable land for over five hundred thousand people is in the magnitude of 86,000 acres, if we include all the 18,200 acres in the above table which are not broken down. Even if this figure is too low, the mere fact that over 180,000 of the 287,630 acres is in forest, or shrub, grass, or stony land, and of low fertility is sufficient indication of the land use problem. These facts are supported by farmers' own appraisals of the nature of the soils of their island.

161 133 311 The following table, even if inaccurate, certainly states the problem in its proper magnitude:

Table 3

Population of Okinawa Island, 1950	517,600

Approximate area in square miles	454	161
Population density per square mile	1139	133
Assumed area in cultivation in square miles a/	134.4	311
Population density per square mile of arable land	3851	

a/ See discussion above. The 134.4 square miles is an approximation derived by adding the areas in wet rice, dry land crops, and 18,200 acres which includes land in cultivation, in town sites, military installations, and in idle land, a total of 86,335. An arbitrary approximation of 80,000 acres (134.4 sq. miles) was then taken, very probably too high a figure. Nuttonson, *op. cit.*, p. 12, gives the cultivated area as less than one-fourth of the total area, or 67,200 acres. One of course must distinguish between cultivated land and land that can be cultivated, but 80,000 acres still seems a reasonable approximation. 7

If we look at the geography of Okinawa from the point of view of the total physical environment and not merely from the point of view of the amount of arable land available to support the people, we are forced to the conclusion that as a result of long settlement, a growing population and the destruction of the war, combined with periodic and inevitable property and crop damage from typhoons, that the environment is not suited for the comfort and well-being of large numbers of people. Intense fertilization will keep the good soils growing crops. Increase of trade and some industrialization may help as long as they do not lead to destructive exploitation of the forests, and some small help may come from the reclamation of unused or cut over land. 178 311 511

5

Conclusion

Almost one hundred years ago, one of the observers on Commodore Perry's expedition wrote, 114 174

> "That the island has been peopled for many ages, is evidenced by the graded roads and deep cuts, the structure and manifest age of the bridges, the antiquity of the villages, the great amount of stone-work in the towns and in the fortresses--some old and dilapidated, some modern and in repair; but, above all, by the incalculable amount of labor done in grading the land for culture. That which is now so perfect, could only have been made so by degrees, like structures reared by the ant or bee."[8]

[8] Hawks, Perry's Expedition, as cited, II, 36.

118 119 There is something to add to the statement of Dr. Green. The fortresses have now disappeared. The same labor, the same minute care of the land which makes them gardeners instead of farmers in their fields, and conservationists of their cultivated and their wild land exists today. The changes of the landscape since that time have come within the last ten years, first through the destruction of war, which affected cultural installations as well as the natural environment, and the changes which have been made in the physical environment by the Americans. The bulldozer works alongside the hoe; the airplane takes off in sight of a horsecart. The new American homes overlook the thatched roofs of an ancient way of living. The water system of an army camp or military reserve, using thousands of gallons daily, exists beside the well, the community faucet, or pond with individual families using six or seven bucketfuls a day. The island has come a long way in the transformation of the natural landscape by the hand of man, beginning, one may suppose with the earliest interferences by fire and in the clearing of trees to the contemporary scene, where transformations, a combination of age old tools and of modern machinery, continue before our eyes.

121 It is in this ever changing physical environment, itself the product of long settlement and the intense change of a most recent past, that we must see the growing population, the everyday village life, the continuance of agriculture and soil care, the land, and the forests.

080

CHAPTER II

INERTIA AND CHANGE

1. Introduction
2. Conjectural Minglings of Prehistoric Times
3. Events of the Early Historical Period
4. Inertia from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries
5. Western Awareness of the Great Loochoo
6. Okinawa Island, the Capital of a New Japanese Province
7. Okinawa in World War II
8. Okinawa After the War

1

Introduction

Okinawan history is the story of inertia and change. Basil Hall 178
Chamberlain, the distinguished Japanese and Ryukyuan scholar of the
last century and grandson of Basil Hall who visited the island in 1816,
said rightly in 1895 that "the general assertion may safely be hazarded [114]
that Oriental stagnation exists only in Occidental fancy."[1]

One of the reasons for this fancy is that there is a certain
stability in parts of the culture, and from this circumstance it is
often concluded that changelessness and lack of variety have charac-
terised the historical experience of the people. Agricultural methods
seem to have changed little with the centuries, though some of the
tools are new. This stability in agriculture is another way of saying [242]
that a fine technology based on experience and empiric observation,
had been developed, and that in the absence of modern scientific knowledge
of soils, crops, plant pathology and fertilizers, it was the best tech-
nology possible under the circumstances. The tombs, introductions from [177]
China over five centuries ago, add to this impression of the changelessness
of rural life. But this is more apparent than real when we look into the [264]
history of burial customs more closely.

This view of Okinawan history in terms of inertia and change has 178
meaning for the present. The American influence on Okinawa is not a new 177
way of life that is conditioning a static society, but an important,
forceful, and new intrusion in a culture that already has undergone fundamental changes in the past. Those who think within the framework of Western European and American history, those whose minds are trained to recognise the changes which have come about as a result of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the beginnings of theoretical science in the seventeenth century, tend to neglect the rest of world history as relatively unchanging, or to see only those changes coming about from Western intrusions. This one sided interpretation, often expressed in the idea of the Europeanization or the Westernization of the world, should be supplemented with the insight that Oriental cultures have influenced and changed one another greatly and have still maintained their own distinctive features. Chinese influences have been strong in Korea, Japan, and the Ryukyus. But each of these cultures is separate and distinct, although, as one might expect, contemporary Okinawan society bears the strong imprint of long cultural and economic associations with Japan.

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[1] The Luchu Islands and their Inhabitants. Geo. Journal 5 (1895), 311.

2

Conjectural Minglings of Prehistoric Times

174 There seems to be little doubt that the settlement of these islands is the result of migration and invasion, and that in the early ages their history was one of contact, not of isolation. These contacts, a consequence of migration and invasion, whether direct or indirect, may have spread over two or three thousand years. This is important to bear in mind, for often in theoretical reconstructions of cultural history it is assumed that a culture has its origin in a period of early isolation and that is subsequent experience to the present is the history of the gradual blurring of its original features which have become increasingly influenced by the international community.

The two chief theories regarding the peopling of the Ryukyu Islands and of Japan are (1) that the southeastern and northeastern Asiatic influences came from the continent, probably by way of Korea. Advocates of this theory emphasize relationships with Korea, Manchuria, and Mongolia. (2) The island stepping stone theory, that the peopling came northward, perhaps via Formosa and the Ryukyus to Japan, is advanced by those who point to affinities with Indonesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia.

Presently held views, following the early lead of Chamberlain, are predominantly in favor of the first theory. Like Japan, the Ryukyus are thought to have been originally settled by peoples from northeastern Asia, perhaps similar to the Ainus of Hokkaido. The ancestors of the present Ainu are believed to have reached Japan "in at least three successive waves perhaps separated by long intervals of time." (Bishop).

This early Ainu settlement was followed by invasions of Mongoloid peoples, the effects of which were to force the Ainus north and west, with a few going south into the Ryukyus. While the original settlers of the Ryukyus are thought to be related to the Ainus, the evidence admittedly is meagre and has been questioned. Bishop has accounted for the southeastern Asiatic influences in Japan (and by inference in the Ryukyus, for he rejects the island stepping stone theory) by assuming areas of contact on the east Asian coast among the cultures of northeast China and those of the southeast, although the latter were not yet part of the Chinese culture. Cultural influences were transmitted along the Asian littoral, across Korea, or possibly the Shantung peninsula, to the Japanese islands.

The study of the Ryukyu Islands from the standpoint of modern Western standards of scholarship started with Basil Hall Chamberlain. [114] His writings on Japan, and to a lesser extent on the Ryukyus, date from the latter part of the nineteenth century. Since his time, further scientific investigation has been and will continue to be inhibited by political conditions in this part of the world. Advances in knowledge of Okinawan prehistory will probably depend on research throughout a wide area and on the comparison and collation of discoveries already made in western Japan, south Korea, Quelpart Island, the Shantung peninsula, the Ryukyu Islands, Formosa, and China, particularly concerning the role of Fukien province in later times, to say nothing of determining the sources and routes of influences from southeastern Asia on Japan and the Ryukyus. Links with Polynesia and Hawaii have been suggested. Obviously present day political conditions are unfavorable for this type of inquiry. 174

The suppositions of which we have been speaking have led to the belief that the Ryukyu people, like the Japanese, are composed of the North Mongoloid, South Mongoloid or Malayan, and the Ainu type, but that the proportions are different, since there seem to be larger elements of the Malayan and Ainu types in the Ryukyu Islands. Whether these reconstructions are correct or not, the significant fact is that the islands owed their peopling to migration and invasion, and that culture mixture and contact is of very ancient origin.[2] [144]

The Ryukyuan creation myth is a crystallization of ideas that must have been long dominant at the time they were recorded. There are two versions of this myth, one simple, the other, as Spencer points out, more complex and probably reflecting the influence of new and foreign ideas. The first of these versions appears in Ryukyu Shindoki, written about 1603 A.D., the second in the Kyu Yo, a Chinese translation of a work by Haneji Tomohide entitled Chusan Seikan (1650).[3] 773 [175]

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[2] Bishop, C. W. The historical geography of early Japan. Geo. Rev. 13 (1923), 40-63. See also this author's, The geographical factor in the development of Chinese civilization. Geo. Rev. 12 (1922), 19-41. For a recapitulation of the theories regarding the peopling of the Ryukyus, see Marshall T. Newman and Roman L. English, The Ryukyuan people: a biological appraisal. Amer. Journ. of Physical Anthropology, 5 (1947), 114-24, and Binkenstein, R. Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica, 3(1940), 196 ff. and the literature there cited. Chamberlain's ideas are summarized in The Luchu islands and their inhabitants. Geo. Journ. 5 (1895), 316-19. R. S. Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan. 2d Series. 8 (1931), 94-112, especially p. 94. For a recapitulation of Ryukyuan history, see C. A. Handbook, as cited, 13-31 and John R. Potter, A Preface to Liu Ch'iuan history: an analysis of the basis for establishing a United Nation's Trusteeship. (Unpublished Master's Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1948. Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo Islands. Shanghai, 1905. [174] [113]

[3] This discussion is based on the article by Spencer cited above. Partial translations of the myths from the sources are reproduced here. See also Binkenstein, Okinawa-Studien, as cited, 198.

773 In the first version, a male person (Shinerikyu) and a female person (Amamikyu) descended from Heaven. Amamikyu without sexual intercourse gave birth to three children: the first son became the first ruler; the first daughter, the first priestess; and the second son, the first farmer.

In the second version, the male and female deities gave birth to a child. "They carried stones and earth to the edge of the sea and planted trees to keep back the waves." Mountains and forests thus made, "mankind sprung up." Knowledge was attained and one person divided mankind into classes. This man, Tenteishi, had five children: Tensonshi, the first son and first ruler; the second son, the first noble (ansu); the third son, the first farmer. The eldest daughter became the first *kikoe-oh-gimi*, who later headed the institutionalised *noro* religious system. The second
[793] daughter became the first priestess (noro).

173 The dynasty established by Tensonshi, according to tradition, lasted for twenty-five generations, 17,802 years, or until 1187 A. D. During this period, Okinawa was divided into three districts (magiri), Kunchan in the
[631] north, Nakagami in the center and Shimajiri in the south, divisions which remain to this day.[4] The districts were divided into *mura* or townships.
[243] "Wheat and millet were raised at Kutaka /a name of a *magiri*/ and rice was grown at Chinen and Tamagusuku."[5] There is reason to believe that Tensons
174 dynasty had its greatest control over what would now be the area of Naha, Shuri, Tamagusuku township, and the Chinen peninsula area.

773 In both myths, a female priesthood, as Spencer points out, is placed at the very beginning of Ryukyuan history. A king, lesser nobles, a female priesthood, and farmers were the basis of the culture.

3

Events of the Early Historical Period

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177 Not enough is known of the early historical contacts between the Great Loochoo and the Chinese and Japanese to warrant any conclusions regarding influences which these countries could have exerted.

648 Chinese punitive expeditions took place in the early seventh century A. D., but the consensus of opinion is that the invasion of Great Loochoo resulted in no prolonged cultural contact or influence. Some Japanese

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 29--ANALYST]

[4] Chamberlain, The Luchu Islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 306.

[5] Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo islands, 15. Quotation is from the manuscript history translated by Leavenworth, ibid, 77.

contact with Okinawa may have taken place in 743 A.D., but this may have 175
been confined to the island of Kume, west of Naha, and not involved 177
Okinawa itself.[6] 648

The modern Japanese contact with Okinawa which brought about the fall of the Tenson dynasty is associated with the arrival at Unten of Tametomo in the latter part of the twelfth century. Some have regarded this as historical, others as perhaps legendary.

Unten, on the Motobu peninsula, is one of the important places in the historical geography of Okinawa island. This is the Port Melville of the Western explorers, Hall and Perry, both of whom charted the bay and its harbor.

Tametomo, of the Minamoto clan, exiled after the final defeat of the Minamoto by the Taira clan in Japan, ultimately reached Unten and there married the daughter of one of the regional nobles, and after a period of civil war, the Tenson dynasty collapsed. In 1187 A. D., the son of Minamoto Tametomo by his Okinawan wife became King Shunten. Shunten, the first of three "Japanese kings," was followed by his son Shumma Junki (1238-1248), and his grandson Gihon (1249-1260). In 1260, the legitimate dynasty was restored under king Eiso.[7]

After his succession, Eiso toured the islands and is credited with setting regular boundaries to rice-fields. "It has been said that this greatly attracted the people so that they started to look after farming."
Graves, according to a manuscript history, were first built in the island, [764]
at Urasoye, and the Buddhist temple, Gokurakuji was constructed with an [346]
officiating priest named Jenkan in charge of the temple.[8]

The Japanese syllabary may have been introduced at this time. Buddhism [212]
apparently did not take hold. Chinese attacks on the islands in connection [779]
with the Mongol wars and the attempted invasion of Japan seem to have left no mark on the island.

The year 1372 is the beginning of the period of relationships with 175
the Chinese, in this case, the Ming dynasty. This is contemporary with the 648
growth of a vast trade network involving Korea, Japan, China, the Ryukyus, 439
and Southeast Asia. It is not clear whether the trade voyages under King Satsudo (reigned 1350-1399) to South China, Malaya, and the Philippines were instrumental in stimulating the Ming dynasty to engage in the Pacific trade, or whether the forced alliance of the Ryukyus with the Chinese

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[6] CA Handbook, as cited, 41, and Chamberlain, as cited, 306.

[7] Chamberlain, as cited, 308

[8] Manuscript history in Leavenworth, The Loochoo islands, 80. On the Japanese syllabary, see Chamberlain, as cited, 308.

175 empire provided the incentive. The central district of Okinawa became an
648 entrepot in the triangular China-Ryukyuan-Japan trade. In the beginning
the cultural interchange was a consequence of sending Chinese ambassadors
434 to assist in the investiture of Ryukyuan kings and the travels of Ryukyuan
emissaries to Peking. Naha in Okinawa and Foochow in Fukien were ports of
entry and exit for the travellers.

The Ryukyuan emissaries left Naha for Foochow on the Min river in Fukien and then began the trip north to Peking. Ryukyuans brought copper, tin, and sulphur and received brocades and silk in return. The Ryukyuan as well as ambassadors from Korea, Annam, Burma participated in this official reception at Peking.[9]

[illegible] The first contact with Chinese learning has been dated at 1392, when
the son of the king and the son of his master of camp were allowed to
[illegible] attend the Imperial College. The usual route from Naha to Foochow became
a cultural corridor joining China and Okinawa. This contact with Chinese
learning and writing lasted until the Japanese annexation in 1879. Hall
in 1816 and Perry's staff in 1853 mentioned the devotion among the higher
[565] classes to Chinese learning, and though this no doubt was confined to
those residing in Naha and Shuri, it was this Chinese educated class that
ruled the island. With this learning too, there came the ideals of the
641 Confucian state and its five relationships, parent-child, husband-wife,
friend-friend, younger brother-elder brother, and subject-sovereign, which
533 were reflected so forcefully in the family system and in the state as well.
This coloring of the whole government, composed of men with Confucian
ideals gradually changed, says Spencer, following Iha, "the whole mental
outlook of the male population, at least around Shuri. This would, per-
[562] haps, not extend inland, and was not given to the women." In the country-
side the influence of women, through the noro system, was still strong.
This Confucian ideal of the state, as Spencer and Iha have suggested,
[779] probably had a great deal to do with the dis-establishment of the noro
system as a state religion in the seventeenth century.[10]

In the reign of Sho Shin (1477-1526), there were further foreign
contacts and domestic consolidations. Buddhism was encouraged and in
[779] fact reintroduced, this time from Korea. The Okinawans requested from
their Korean "suzerain" the sutras, the Buddhist canon, and religious
objects in 1462, 1479, and 1483.[11] Chinese artifacts, books, and other
articles were imported, and palaces on the Chinese model were constructed
at Shuri. Chinese customs, dress by rank order, and the Confucian ideal
of the state became part of the culture of Naha and Shuri, probably less
so in the other parts of Okinawa.

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[9] Binkenstein, Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica 3 (1940), 201-02. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften. Monumenta Nipponica 4 (1941), 264-67. For the route to Peking, see p. 266.

[10] Spencer, as cited, 108-09. Quotation is on p. 108.

[11] Haguenauer, Relations du royaume des Ryūkyū avec les pays des mers du sud et la Córee. Bulletin de la maison franco-Japonaise. Série francaise. T 3, No. 1-2. Comptes rendues, 114.

These foreign introductions were accompanied with the reinforcement 175
of a native institution: the elevation of the female priesthood to what 178
amounted to a state religion. This institutionalizing of a native religion 793
did not mean the exclusion of foreign religions or foreign ideas. The king
used the noro system to bind his realm together: at the same time, he reintroduced 779
Buddhism, himself becoming an adherent. The priestess of the 642
Sho household, that is the royal house, was removed "to a place without
the palace, but near the main gateway" of the palace at Shuri, signifying
the closeness of the chief priestess to the royal house, the extension of
the system to all the islands, and the centralization, both of religious
and political life. Political institutions, borrowed from China and in [177]
a Confucian mold, with the dominance of the male in the family and in the
government, now existed side by side with the hierarchy of priestesses [562]
whose power rested not only on royal patronage but on an economic security
whose basis was ownership in land. With the passage of time, it was the order
of priestesses that gave way to the male dominated Confucian ideal. This
Confucian idea of the state, a combination of the individual morality of
Confucius with the ideas of statecraft of the legists developed in the
Han dynasty, retained its hold until the Japanese did away with the
monarchy.[12]

The new government with its capital at Shuri, a port at Naha, a royal 175
granary at Kume, and the town of Tomari, was rigidly departmentalized along 177
Chinese lines.[13] 642

The Ryukyuan kingdom, from the middle of the fourteenth to the second
half of the sixteenth century was part of a great trade network. This 175
included the Great Loochoo, Korea, Japan, China, Siam, and with the port[14] 439
of Malacca as the center of the trade. The normal route was from Naha along the coast of Fukien province, stopping at Foochow, up from the mouth of the Min River, along the coast of the Campa (modern Indo-China), thence to Malacca. From here, it was possible to trade with the islands of the Sunda (Java) seas, Siam, and with the province of Patani on the east coast of the Malay peninsula, south of the isthmus of Kra. From Naha, the products of Japan, Korea, and Central China were brought to Malacca; from Malacca, essences, various woods, pepper, sugar, ivory, and articles of Portugese and Arab manufacture were brought north. The various traders brought back to the Great Loochoo Chinese money, Ming porcelains, and silks of south China. There were Korean, Chinese, and Japanese colonies

[Text continues TOP of P. 32--Analyst]

[12] Spencer, as cited, 103. On the role of the legists in political Confucianism in China, see Fitzgerald, China: a cultural history, 103-04,156.

[13] For interesting details, see CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, 103.

[14] The age of Naha, I believe, is unknown. Under King Satsudo in the late fourteenth century, and in the period of trade of which we are speaking, Naha had a sudden expansion. There were three channels into the harbor, the northern "Yamatoguchi," used by the Japanese, a center one, "Karefuneguchi" (literally Chinese ship terminus (mouth)), and a "Miyakoguchi", the south channel which was used by the ships engaged in trade with the Sakishima group. Simon, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 36.

175 439 at Naha, and junks from the south seas touched at that port. Loochooans in this manner became known to the Portugese.[15]

175 648 Political relationships with countries other than China had accompanied this trade. Following the establishment of relations with China in 1372, there were contacts with Korea in 1389 when the woods from the southeastern trade, paper, and other articles originating in Indo-China and the East Indies were presented by King Satsudo of the Ryukyus to the Korean court. Those relations with Korea were renewed in 1392 under the new Yi dynasty. The usual route north was from Naha to Hakata in Kyūshū to the Korean port of Pusan on the southeast coast, thence overland to the capital city of Seoul. Relationships between the two peoples finally broke off in 1500, although Koreans actually were settled in Okinawa and some were evacuated in 1574.

[illegible] This was therefore a period of considerable cultural contact with China, Japan, Korea, and with the countries of Southeast Asia, and indirectly with the arts and manufacture of the Mahomedan world and of the Portugese in the crossroads port of Malacca.

175 648 439 This lively and important trade was brought to an end through three situations: the existence of Japanese pirates, necessitating, at a period toward the close of the era, hiring Japanese Buddhist priests as ambassadors and cargo protectors, (2) the appearance of the Portugese in the East China Sea, and around 1542 at Tanegashima, one of the northern islands of the Ryukyus southeast of Kyūshū, and (3) the maritime expansion of Japan in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the coup de grace to the Ryukyuan trade.

175 177 369 It is likely that many of these outside contacts, even up to the end of the nineteenth century, really affected Naha and Shuri, and that the rural areas were essentially unchanged. This would mean that the two cities had a culture revealing a strong Chinese influence, but also of Japan and perhaps indirectly of other nations, while the rural areas languished in the older elements of the folk culture, such as the priesthood dominated by women. Other facts which will be brought out in the chapters to which they belong tend to substantiate this interpretation that we cannot speak simply of a homogeneous Okinawan culture.

175 648 [439] The conquest of the islands by the Japanese in 1609 was a consequence of the growing trade that had developed with Japan, first with the Shogunate, later, more specifically, with the Satsuma clan. Ultimately the Satsuma clan succeeded in displacing the Shogunate in the Loochoo trade and with the conquest of 1609 the kingdom came under Satsuma influence,

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[15] On this trade, which is much too complex to treat in a short summary, see Haguenauer, as cited, 4-16. Much new material appeared in two articles by R. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften, Monumenta Nipponica, 4(1941), 256-69, and Die Ryūkyū-Expedition unter Shimazu Iehisa, ibid, 622-28.

Amami Oshima and the northern islands being directly ceded, the others 175
agreeing to vassalage. 648

From this time until the seventh decade of the nineteenth century, the Ryukyu kingdom existed, acknowledging both suzerainty of China and vassalage to Satsuma in a twilight of sovereignty which statecraft and the political realities of the time did not find it necessary to resolve.

During this period of contact with other countries, an intrusion 175
of an entirely different order, but what must have been of revolutionary 177
consequence, was the introduction of the sweet potato in 1605. "In the
10th year /1605/ Noguni Tsunkwan imported sweet potatoes from China. Mashi 262
Oima Uyakatā Shinjo obtaining them, planted them in the fields, and in a few years they were raised all over the islands."[16] In view of the widespread reluctance of peoples to adopt new foods, the swift acceptance of the sweet potato is noteworthy. It must have furnished the means of subsistence for a much greater population. The topography, the soils, the fewness of valleys, alluvial plains, and marsh land could not have permitted the growth of rice to feed great masses of people as in China and Japan. This dependence on the sweet potato has persisted to this day. Modern accounts mention the reliance of the ordinary Okinawan on the sweet potato, and in times of stress on the sago palm, or cycad. Rice is seldom if ever mentioned as the food of the common people.

Scarcely had the sweet potato reached Okinawa, when it was carried to Japan. At first it was known as the *kara-mmu* (Okinawan) or *Karaimo* (Japanese), that is the Chinese potato. When it reached Satsuma in Kyūshū, it became known as the Luchuan potato; as it spread northward and eastward in Japan, the Japanese, believing the plant to be a native of southern Japan, called it the Satsuma potato (*satsuma imo*), and it is by this last name that the sweet potato is known in Okinawa to this day.[17]

4

Inertia from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries

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178

The period 1609 to 1871, when the Japanese took their initial steps toward the eventual incorporation of the island of Okinawa within the empire, was a quiescent one, continuing a pattern of life already set.
The ideals of the Confucian state were strong. In the 17th century, it [642]

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[16] Quoted from a manuscript history in C. S. Leavenworth, The history of the Loochoo Islands, 88. "Native historians," says Chamberlain, "inform us that it was acclimatised in Luchu and passed into common use within the short period of four years after its first introduction." No further sources are given. Chamberlain, as cited, 302.

[17] On the fortunes of the sweet potato in Japan, see Rein, The industries of Japan, London, 1889, 65.

175 succeeded in shearing the noro system of much of its political power.
178 During the early part of the 18th century, there was an improvement in
agricultural methods and in forestry conservation, associated with the
642 name of the statesman, Hosui Saion (1682-1761).[18] Saion was a descendant
of a Chinese who had settled at Kume near Naha. He is said to have
175 planted several kinds of trees, including the pine, the Japanese redwood (sugi), and the maki (in Japanese; podocarpus ssp.) Saion is well remembered in Okinawa. In Matsuda, I was shown trees which were said to have been planted along the road to Ginosa during Saion's lifetime and at his inspiration. There are stories told in the forest areas like Matsuda, crediting Saion with intentionally inventing superstitions to prevent people from cutting down the trees. In 1951, a Saion commemorative stamp was issued, and his name is used frequently in forest conservation literature and in posters. Whether Saion was the medium through which agricultural techniques of Japan or China were introduced, or whether these improvements came from his own initiative and study of local conditions, I have been unable to determine. In any case, the teachings of Saion on agriculture and forestry must have reached to the rural areas, improving the agricultural possibilities and encouraging planting trees and preserving the forests, constantly subject to destruction through fire, carelessness, and merciless cutting for firewood, as has been the case in many parts of China. These improvements, with the advantages from the introduction of the sweet potato one hundred years earlier, took place within the framework of a political and social and religious system that had now been well established.

5

European Awareness of the Great Loochoo

The Loochooans were known to the Portugese through the trade centering at Malacca. The Portugese explorer Pinto had visited Tanegashima
648 around 1542. Captain Broughton had been shipwrecked on Miyako to the south in 1798. But the western exploration of Okinawa itself was reserved for later times. During the nineteenth century, the Europeans, then the Americans, became aware of the people of the Great Loochoo.

The first detailed observations based on personal contact date from the works of Captain Basil Hall, and his surgeon, William M'Leod, who

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 35--Analyst]

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[18] In the manuscript history reproduced by Leavenworth, there is this passage: "In the 20th year of Kyoho /1735/, Hosui Saion fixed a system for the protection of forestry, and a forestry office and shipping office were established." Op. cit., 89. Saion's famous work, Eight Volumes of Forest Administration, I am told was destroyed in the war. Chamberlain, as cited, p. 310, says that Loochooan polity in the 17th century crystallized in a form it wore from then on.

had been directed by the British government, at the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars, to discover and chart waters and routes in the Far East, especially along the China shore. 175 648

Hall found in Okinawa a people who knew nothing of the English or the French. They were acquainted only with the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Koreans. The Okinawans of his day apparently had forgotten any memories of their seafaring in the centuries and this ignorance of their neighbors was reciprocated by the Filipinos.[19]

Halls book describing his journey along the west coast of Korea and to the Great Loochoo, with its engravings and a vocabulary of Loochooan words, is written with spirit and great charm.

Hall's and M'Leod's accounts were very favorable to the Okinawans. They describe an honest, peace loving, unworried people, with neither money [181] nor arms, kindly and hospitable, without guile. According to him, they were gentle and kind, secure within the classes in which their society was organized (and the social distinctions that went with it), adhering with tenacity to their own customs, gracious to those of others, an island of quiet beauty, fertility, and repose. In the manner of the voyages and travels of the times, there are wisps of information about many things, exhaustive accounts of none. Hall described the agriculture, the square plots of rice fields divided from one another by small banks of earth, the picturesque villages with their hedges, arbors, and the creepers over the bamboo, the dress according to rank, the casual attitude toward religion, domestic animals, the lack of carts and wheeled vehicles, the horseshoe tombs, and the tattooing, not of the women, but of the fishermen.

Considering the difficulties Hall and his men had in landing, the endless importunity and cajolery required to get permission to walk along a village road, for the Okinawans were willing to feed, provision and entertain the travellers but were in no mood for guided tours, he has much of interest to record of the island and its people. The expedition travelled around the southeastern and eastern part of the island, made a poor map of the Great Loochoo, and named the town of Unten--called by him Oonching or Winching--Port Melville, after the first lord of the Admiralty.

M'Leod's book covered much the same ground. He wrote also of the priestesses (the noros), of the irrigation systems, the Loochooans' lack of money, their use of ginseng, and mentioned the extensive forests.

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[19] Hall, Voyage to Corea and the Great Lew Chew, 184: "At Manilla /sic/ we found that the Great Loo-choo Island was known only by name. There appeared to be no intercourse between the two places." Page 184, footnote. There was some memory of Broughton's shipwreck on Miyako.

175 648 In April 1844, the French corvette Alcemène landed at Naha to open up negotiations for trade with France. The local official protested to the French commander that the islands were sterile, provided only a little rice, had no gold, copper, or iron, and that from antiquity they had engaged in a modest trade in rice with the neighboring islands, if drought or floods did not interfere. He implored the French not to land because of the unhealthy climate. The French response was gracious, but a landing was made and a friendly interchange followed. This visit was the beginning of the French missionary effort in the Ryukyus.[20] [197]

175 Belcher's Narrative of the Voyage of H. M. S. Samarang (1848) describes some explorations in Okinawa, but his materials for this island are disappointing.

These earlier travellers generally concerned themselves with casual observations, as they came to the eye, on such subjects as marriage and burial customs, hairdress, religion, and clothing, but on the less colorful and more commonplace but just as important subjects as the family system, land tenure, and land use there is virtually no mention.

The Perry expedition, which first arrived at Okinawa and anchored at the port of Naha on May 26, 1853, made outstanding contributions.[21] The expedition explored large parts of the island. Previous observers had only touched the coasts or described the areas around Naha and Shuri and Unten. A series of technical papers on such subjects as agriculture, ethnology, and plant and animal life were prepared. Observations were made of court, town, and everyday village life. It is the last document, based on personal observations and exploration, and written from a modern point of view, which appeared before the Japanese formally took over the island and introduced the changes in the last two decades of the century that were to affect the daily life both of the villages and towns and alter the culture fundamentally. [197]

The land explorations of the Perry expedition, as far as can be determined from the various place names and landmarks which in the account can be identified, included the south, the central, and parts bordering on the northern district of Kunigami. The exploration started from the home of the unhappy Dr. Bettelheim, a converted Jew and the resident missionary in Naha. Bettelheim told the members of the party what he knew of the language, Okinawan knowledge of arms and of money, and of their religion. From Naha, the explorers went to Tumai, subsequent

[Text continues top of p. 37 -- analyst]

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[20] Cordier, Henri. Les français aux iles Lieou K'ieou. Mélanges d'histoire et de géographie orientales. Tome 1, 296-317.

[21] See Hawk's Narrative of the Expedition, especially Vol. I, chapters 7-9, 11, and 17, and Vol. II which contains the specialized articles on various aspects of the exploration. See table of contents for the Loochoo articles.

a suburb of Naha, thence to Shuri. They turned north, passed the ancient fortress of Nakagusuku, went over to the east coast, proceeding to the vicinity of Kanna. In Matsuda, which the exploring party apparently did not reach, there is still a story about Perry's expedition. It concerns a carving on stone placed on the top of a dramatically shaped rock on the seashore. According to local residents, this carving remained in place until it was shot off by an American soldier during the war.

Roughly around Kanna, the party crossed the island to the South China Sea or western side, and reached the village of Un-na (modern Onna), an engraving of which appears in the narrative and also in Bayard Taylor's *India, China, and Japan*. The return trip was down the coast, and the road led through Machinato back to Naha. Coastal explorations were extensive. A new chart was an immense improvement over Hall's. Special attention was given to the Unten (Port Melville) and Shah Bay (Miyagishima and the area south of Ogimi).

Bayard Taylor, the famous traveller who had joined the expedition and wrote parts of the narrative, spoke of the interior of Okinawa in 1853 as a "*terra incognita*," and he was not exaggerating as far as Western knowledge was concerned.[22] This probably applied to the Japanese as well, for their stations were in Naha and an administrator or scholar of the Tokugawa era probably found little in agriculture, plant life, land tenure, and local history and ethnography to interest him.[23]

Upland agriculture, the hoeing of sweet potatoes, the planting and [241]
transplanting of rice, the manufacture of sugar were described much as
they can be observed to this day in parts of Okinawa. They noted a
sameness and a lack of variety in plant life, the planting of pines along [137]
the highways, the fences used as protection against the wild boar. The
communal land system was remarked upon, the writers thinking it a "metayer [421]
system," that is a form of share-cropping in which the proprietor of the
land and the cultivator receive equal, or agreed upon proportions. They [342]
described houses built on small stilts, the compounds, and the village
granaries. They strolled through villages, poked their heads into huts,
and wrote about the utensils in the kitchens. They theorized about the
possible origins of the people and their connections with other races,
discovered *lingams* which were interpreted as the ruins of "ancient Hindoo
idolatry." They spoke of the glossy upswept hair and the hair pins ac- [302]
cording to rank.

The village granaries are gone; so has the land system and the costumes, and the long swept up hair of both sexes. Agricultural techniques and the care of the land have remained. [198]

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[22] See Bayard Taylor's A visit to India, China, and Japan, in the year 1853. Chapters 30, 33, 36.

[23] In the early 17th century the Japanese explored the island, took a census, and reorganized political administration. CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, 40.

175 This last document, written prior to the complete absorption of Okinawa into the Japanese social and political system is still worth careful study. The conditions it describes were probably true for the ensuing thirty or forty years. It is a last glimpse of a culture before being exposed to Western influences indirectly through the Westernization of Japan, which was then just beginning. The Okinawa of 1853 was a terra incognita, but the intervening years have brought many new changes and circumstances throughout the world, and the terra incognita of one age has become a household word of another.

6

Okinawa Island, the Capital of a New Japanese Province

175 177 648 One might well ask why the Japanese changes beginning in the latter part of the nineteenth century were so revolutionary, when Japan had exercised an influence in the twilight zone of sovereignty over the islands with China since the early seventeenth century. The answer, I think, is that in the earlier period, Japanese influence was confined largely to the upper level of government, particularly to the handling of foreign relations and trade, and to supervising any contacts between the Okinawans and the Western nations. The members of Perry's expedition mention that there was spying everywhere and that these spies were Japanese in Loochooan dress, an observation about internal espionage not made by Hall about forty years earlier, though it existed from the Japanese conquest of the seventeenth century.

175 177 After the Japanese made the Okinawan king a Japanese marquis, their influence, though gradual, reached down into the masses of the people. A systematic effort was made to replace the old life with the new Japanese ideas, themselves a compound of traditional practices and innovations derived from the west.

Although the Ryukyuan monarchy was restricted in 1871, the prefecture was not actually established until 1879. But the cultural domination of the islands, as distinct from political and police control, must be dated, inexactly, later. The readiness of Okinawans to abandon Chinese customs and to accept Japanese customs seems to have increased after the success of the Japanese in the sino-Japanese war of 1894-95. After the war, the former king of the islands cut his hair, a symbol of acceptance of a more modern way of doing things.

In this period, whether we date it from 1871, 1879, or 1894-95, to the beginning of World War II in Asia, the Japanese made several fundamental changes in Okinawan society. These early changes coincided also with a period in which the Japanese were most hospitable to Western influences. The changes within Japan ranged from the reorganisation of the government, a new educational system, the inauguration of a Western calendar, the establishment of post offices and telegraphs to crazes and fads of Western inspiration. Vaccination, the calendar, European dress for officials, photography, edicts against long hair belong to the late 1870's. Chamberlain has spoken of the years 1885-87 as the "years of the great foreign fever."[24] Japan was the medium through which Western ideas were brought to bear on the old Okinawan culture. This new intrusion, indirectly set off both by the Perry expedition and the determination of the Japanese to change their own country, was modern Japan, compounded of traditional and Western ideas. When we speak of the "Japanization" of the islands, we must remember that some of this is also Westernization. 175 177

Foremost among these changes was the introduction of the new Japanese education. Education came to the rural areas and provided the basis, as in Japan, for mass literacy. This was not an easy task. Nor was it accomplished at once. Chamberlain in 1895 tells of the signs at the entrance to each village, giving the population, the number of children of school age and the number of children actually attending school, a "device not used in Japan itself, but resorted to here with the object of shaming parents into sending their children to school. To get the girls sent there has been found very difficult--the Further Isles almost impossible." The extent of this change can be appreciated by Chamberlain's further remark that few outside of Naha understood Japanese, and that the language was taught the first year so that it could be used later in instruction in other subjects.[25] Before World War II, as now, Japanese was spoken and understood by all, except the very old, the Japanese language existing side by side with Okinawan which remained the language of children, intimates, and of the village. The adoption of Japanese dress, the cutting of the hair, the learning of the Japanese language were the avenues to official employment. 175 177 872 [191] [464]

Another great change was the abolition of the old system of land tenure, something we shall dwell upon at length later. By a series of laws over the period 1899-1903, the old system of village communal ownership with a periodic distribution of the rice lands and the dry crop land was abolished and private ownership and inheritance of land were instituted. The abolition of the old land allotment system must have changed the aspect of the villages, for village-owned granaries, were part of the central area of a village.[26] This change in land tenure, as Spencer has suggested, contributed to the further economic decline of the native religion of the noro priestesses whose lands, still retained, were now subject to different laws of inheritance.[27] 175 177 423 [343] [093]

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[24] Basil Hall Chamberlain. Things Japanese, 238. See his comments on "fashionable crazes," 155-57.

[25] The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457-58. Chamberlain adds, page 457, an interesting table showing school attendance by district which indicated that eligibles going to school were in a distinct minority.

[26] Hawks, Perry's Expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 314; II, 34.

[27] The Noro, or priestesses of Loo-choo, as cited, 109. This is an interesting example of the relation of an old religion to economic changes brought about by a revolution in land tenure induced from above.

175 Another departure from the past was that Okinawans, soon after the
167 turn of the century, were provided with opportunities for emigration.
The history of Okinawan emigration is not well known. But in the twentieth century, the people of Okinawa changed from an almost complete ignorance of the outside world to one of the most widely travelled and informed peoples of the Orient. Okinawan settlements in the twentieth century were scattered in many parts of the world, such as Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Hawaii, and the Japanese mandates of the Pacific, Singapore, Japan, Manchuria, and Korea. The cessation of this historic emigration is an event pregnant with meaning for the future. The population and its natural increase now must subsist on the island.

175 Late nineteenth and twentieth century improvements in roads and communication, modest as they were by American standards, broke down some
487 of the isolation of the three districts of Okinawa. The forests and the lack of roads to the north had always discouraged contact. Much of the
[438] trade in firewood between the north and the south, even up to the recent war, was done by ship. Elsewhere there were only paths and in the north, not even these. In 1895 Chamberlain wrote of the sparsely inhabited
[161] northern (Kunigami) forest area whose inhabitants were "despised for their poverty and rough speech by the natives of the central and southern provinces." Later on he remarked about the "groans of Japanese officials when obliged to go their country rounds," and, that, in the north it was necessary for them to carry a tent.[28]

175 As the main island in the newly created province (ken) of Japan,
177 Okinawa benefitted from the scientific approach to agronomy pursued enthusiastically by the Japanese, in contrast with the Chinese and the
242 Koreans before their annexation. Concentration on the development of suitable varieties of rice, the study of sugar cane, plant disease and agricultural techniques represented a body of knowledge that could be applied with local adaptations to all parts of the empire.

175 Direct Japanese annexation meant also the disappearance of the top
178 heavy native nobility or gentry (shizoku) to be displaced by the Japanese elite, although membership in the Okinawan nobility continued to be
565 recorded in the family registers up to the recent war. The displacement of the old higher social classes resulted in a certain levelling of all the people, a levelling which continued up to the war, and was accentuated
[511] in an economic way by the widespread impoverishment of rich and poor alike in the campaign for Okinawa.

7

Okinawa in World War II

175
648 The terra incognita described by Bayard Taylor in 1853 became the

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28 Chamberlain, as cited, 294, 459

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scene of the final campaign of World War II. American landings were made on the Kerama Islands, about 15 miles west of Okinawa on March 26, 1945. By March 29, they had been conquered. The occupation of Keise Island, about eight miles west of Naha, followed soon after.

Plans for the invasion of Okinawa were centered on two areas, the Higashi beaches north of Naha, and the Minatogawa beaches in the southeastern part of the island. The Higashi beaches were finally chosen. On April 1, the invasion began with a simultaneous feint landing above Minatogawa. The invasion was immediately successful, and by the second of April, the American force had patrols on Nakagusuku Bay and occupied the highlands in its vicinity. American troops, athwart the island, had effectively cut it in two. Thenceforth, the main fighting was in the south. The Japanese forces had also been divided.

By the 4th of April, the United States Tenth Army held an area 15 miles long and from three to ten miles wide. The Japanese plan was to concentrate the defences around and north of the ancient capital of Shuri, with the other principal defenses at Naha, Yonabaru on Nakagusuku (Buckner) Bay. The initial fighting was concerned with American attacks on outposts to the north of the Shuri defense area, and with severe and unsuccessful counter-attacks by the Japanese.[29]

While the attacks on the Shuri defenses were going on, the Motobu peninsula, extending westward above Nago, was cut off and conquered on April 16-18. Ie Shima fell after the attacks of the 16th and 17th, and was declared secure on the 21st of April. In the south, the "Shuri defense ring," was breached between April 19 and April 24. "If any doubt remained about the kind of fighting that lay ahead before Okinawa could be won, it was dissipated by the heavy combat and high casualities experienced from 19 to 24 April in penetrating the first main ring of the Shuri defense zone."

General Buckner, however, rejected a proposed second landing on the Minatogawa beaches because of the difficulties in supply. In the 2nd Shuri defense ring, the Maeda escarpment was captured and a Japanese counteroffensive failed. The Americans were able to make an opening to the east of the Shuri line and thus could penetrate into south Okinawa. "At the end of the third week of May the fighting had penetrated to the inner ring of the Shuri defenses." Toward the end of May, two circumstances were clear: "Most of the big prizes--the port of Naha, the big anchorage of Nakagusuku Bay, Yonabaru, Shuri,

[29] Appleman, Roy E., Burns, James H., Gugeler, Russell A., and Stevens, John. Okinawa, the last battle. (U.S.Army in World War II. Historical Division, Dept. of the Army). Washington, 1948. 51-52, 57, 68, 74, 76-77, 83, 93, 125ff.

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Naha airfield, and the flat coastal ground of Southern Okinawa were still effectively denied to the Americans, long after they had expected to capture them. / By the end of May, however, the flower of General Ushijima's forces on Okinawa had been destroyed."[30]

As American pressure continued, the Japanese command could choose between staying at Shuri, retreating south, or retreating to the Chinen peninsula. The second of these was chosen. The retreat of Japanese soldiers, dressed as civilians, from Shuri is believed to have started on May 22. The ruse was discovered by the Americans on the 30th; Japanese headquarters left Shuri castle around May 29, and by May 31, the destroyed capital was occupied.[31]

After the fall of Shuri, for the Americans the campaign became a task of pushing the Japanese into the sea, and, for the Japanese, one of exacting as many casualties as possible in a struggle the Japanese commander realised to be hopeless.

In the conquest of the south of Okinawa, Minatogawa, one of the villages studied in this report, became a forward unloading point. On May 31, the army boundary extended along the road joining the villages of Chan, Iwa, and Gushichan. Three major areas remained to be conquered. The Chinen peninsula was occupied "against light opposition that indicated an absence of enemy plans for a defense of that area." The Oroku peninsula, south of Naha, and commanding that port, fell on June 15. The last remaining stronghold was in the south. "With the elimination of possible defensive terrain on Chinen Peninsula and in central southern Okinawa, it was becoming evident by the evening of 3 June that General Ushijima intended to stage his final stand on the southern tip of the island, almost certainly on the Yaeju-Dake Escarpment..."

Using the port of Minatogawa, the fighting leading up to the attack and conquest of Yaeju-Dake proceeded through the villages of Gushichan and Hanashiro, the second village studied here, and including the dramatic struggles for Hill 95 in the vicinity of Hanashiro. "The battle for the southern tip of Okinawa blazed with orange rods of flame and became a thunderous roar of machine guns, shells, rockets, and bombs." Finally on Hill 89 near the village of Mabuni, the campaign came to an end, 18-21 June 1945.

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30 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 146-48, 156ff, 181, 258 (Quoted), 262-63, 281, 301, 351, 360 (Quoted), 383 (Quoted).

31 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 388, 392, 394, 400. For a dramatic description of the appearance of Shuri, see 400-02.

With the suicide, by harakiri, of General Ushijima and his Chief of Staff, General Cho, whose stars "have fallen with the setting of the waning moon over Mabuni,"[32] the island was conquered, and though it was not known at that time, this was the "last battle" of World War II.[33] 175 648

Unlike the Japanese, the Okinawans seemed unwilling to die when the alternative was death or surrender. They apparently did not take the emperor cult and State Shinto seriously, and though they were conscripted in the Japanese army, they did not identify themselves strongly with the war or its successful conclusion.[34] [103]

The Okinawan people showed remarkable ability to stand up under physical and mental strain. Many lived in caves for long periods, subsisting on whatever food could be obtained. Aside from filth diseases and lice infestations, the death of many of the very young, and some of the very old, they suffered little deterioration and recuperated under care of military government teams with the help of American foods and clothing. Professional observers were struck by their lack of mental collapse and breakdown, and one observer has suggested that prolonged breast feeding and free access to the mother's breast in infancy had given the people the emotional security to withstand the trials of the war.[35] [722] [727] [155]

8

Okinawa After the War

The war brought catastrophic upheavals to the civilian population, especially in those areas of greatest military activity. One consequence 175 727

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32 Quoted from Okinawa, the last battle, from the account of a prisoner of war, 470.

33 The campaign was declared ended on July 2, 1945. Sources for the statements in this and the preceding paragraphs will be found on pp. 407, 422, 425 (Quotation), 426-27 (Quotation), 437-42, 441 (Quotation), 470 of Okinawa, the last battle.

34 These statements are based on personal conversations with Okinawans who lived through the war, either as soldiers or civilians.

35 Materials in the first part of the paragraph are based on personal conversations. The interesting thesis about breast feeding, which I believe has serious defects, will be commented upon in the section on family life. See James C. Moloney, Psychiatric observations in Okinawa Shima. The psychology of the Okinawan. Psychiatry 8 (1945), 391-99; and, with Charles R. Biddle, A psychiatric hospital in military government, ibid, 400-01. Of great interest are the first hand observations of the authors made at Ginosa hospital. For other comments on the behavior of Okinawans during the war, see Okinawa, the last battle, 48, 415-17, 463, 468.

175 727 [166] was that large numbers of refugees from the south were sent to the northern area. The destruction of the heavily populated south and central areas, with their many villages, gave new prominence to the northern district whose villages, much less damaged and less densely populated, were now in the best preserved part of the island. The roles of the two regions had, in a sense, been reversed. The northern region was no longer a rustic hinterland.

[648] In 1945, the Okinawans came under the direct military government of the Americans, and from these early beginnings, which in the heat of conflict were scarcely more than compounds for the relief and care of refugees, there has evolved the extensive present civil administration and the native government.

175 177 The Americans have thus been the most recent arrivals on an island with a long history of inertia and change. The results of this last, and probably greatest intrusion into the culture of Okinawa cannot yet be predicted. This cultural influence is a stronger, certainly a much different one, than the great changes which came about when the Japanese set on their course to make over Ryukyuan, especially Okinawan life.

[727] [178] The war years, with conscription and service in the Japanese army in other parts of the empire, the disruption and deaths in the war, were effective in preventing the handing down of the traditional culture from one generation to another. This may mean a more ready receptivity to newer influences. It will be clear in the pages that follow that many aspects of the culture, familiar to the old, are now unknown to the young.

177 Whether the American influence will be a conservative one, in the sense that the fundamental attitudes and framework of the culture as it existed before the war, will be retained, or whether it will be a revolutionary intrusion remains to be seen. Will, for example, the individuali of the American culture tend to break down the structure of the family system? Or will American influences assert themselves within the framework of the culture, and will the flexible family system absorb only surface influences, leaving the basic culture as it is?

175 177 184 On a preceding page, the point was made that in the earlier periods there probably was not a homogeneous Okinawan culture, that its centers, Naha and Shuri, were under strong contemporary Chinese and Japanese influences, and that in the rural areas an older culture existed relatively unmolested. This gap was narrowed after the island became the seat of a province of the Japanese empire, through such measures as the new land law and the introduction of mass education, direct interferences were made in the traditional life of the rural areas.

175 184 648 In my opinion, the American influence so far has been to close this gap even more, but for different reasons. The Americans have made no direct interferences in the lives of the villages, except in those cases

in which villages have been moved and land preempted for military pur- 175
poses. The devastation of the war, the mixing of the people, their dis- 184
persion as refugees throughout the island prepared the way for greater 648
uniformity. Since the war's end, increased mobility, ease of trans-
portation, the widening of the roads have done much to further obliterate [527]
sectional differences in this small island, scarcely sixty miles long. [484]

During historical times, and probably during times now lost to an
undocumented past, this island, far from being isolated, has been in- 177
fluenced strongly by other cultures. From the examples which have been 178
given, one can at least gain an intimation of the stability and change
that have characterized its experience, and some insight, no matter how
slight, into the historical depth of a culture with which the Americans,
in one form or another, and for some time to come, will be associated.

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PART TWO

THE OKINAWAN VILLAGE

CHAPTER III

VILLAGES AND THEIR SURROUNDINGS

1. Introduction
2. Hanashiro
3. Minatogawa
4. Matsuda

1

Introduction

In contemporary Okinawa, there are four distinct types of village settlement. The first and the most common is the village cluster. Houses are grouped in a central area, usually along or on both sides of a road, surrounded by farm lands and rice fields. The second, the shoe-string type, is less common. Here houses are lined along either side of a main street. The third is a here-and-there type of settlement. This has been called a *yadori* (Japanese) or *yadui* (Okinawan) village, translated as plantation, but this is too exalted a word.[1] These villages may have sub-settlements. Houses are scattered among intervening plots of cultivated land. In the fourth category are the modern improvisations: land formerly in forest, grass or shrub which has been reclaimed and used for houses and nearby cultivation, or former agricultural land now taken up for house sites, a result of increased population or of war time destruction of other parts of a village. 361 [311]

The basic type of Okinawan village is the cluster, a village small in area whose houses, close together, and on irregular winding lanes, are separated from one another by stone or rock walls, or by boundaries of trees or shrubs. The front part of the house compound usually is cut off from the road by a stone fence, running part way across, with the opening to the road obstructed by a stationary barrier, sometimes of stones, often of woven grasses. [351] [363]

In the village of a bygone age, there were large open spaces like a common on the outskirts "often appearing as glades in the forest." In this area, rice was laid out to dry, horse racing and other sports took place, the village council met, goods were bartered, justice administered, and festivals celebrated.[2] When approached from a distance, the older villages seemed literally buried in foliage. In the last century the larger villages still had rest huts (cung-qua) for travellers, usually government officials to use from one overnight stop to another. The older village also had a series of small buildings on stilts three to six feet long. These were granaries and food storehouses. Some houses were also on stilts. Older accounts have stressed the concealment of the Okinawan village, its houses separated from one another, its lanes lined or embowered with bamboo, with banana trees, or with arbors. To 361 175 [526] [357] [485] [343] [342]

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[1] Higa, Shunchō. Structure of the Ryukyuan rural community. The Japanese journal of ethnology, 15 (1950), 63-66. In Japanese with English summary, 151.

[2] The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457. See also Basil Hall, Account of a voyage of discovery to the west coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo island, 123, 124.

361 Perry's men, the aspect of these villages was one of rare and romantic
175 beauty.[3]

2

Hanashiro

361 Hanashiro is a small village of the cluster type in Gushichan
103 township (Gushichan-son) in the southeastern part of Okinawa.[4] It is on
[491] the present Highway 64 which begins on the Chinen peninsula, travels
southwesterly, following the coast at a distance to Mabuni in the southeast, then crossing the island to Nagushiku town, a village south of Itoman.

361 The village and its surroundings are small in area, the actual town
241 site including various village owned properties, taking up slightly over
443 22 acres. This is an agricultural village, with the exception of minor
256 activities such as storekeeping and rice milling. As of December 31, 1951,
162 it had a population of 589 (269 male, 320 female), living together in
120 households, an average of 4.9 persons per household.

361 The village is believed to have been founded about 400 years ago.
[103] By Okinawan standards this is not very old. It is off the main historical
[491] road which ran from Naha to Shuri to Kochinda, Gushichan, Minatogawa, through Tamagusuku township to the Chinen peninsula, probably the road travelled by Okinawan kings up to the latter part of the seventeenth century when they prayed at the altars on Kudaka Island.[5] There were in this area a series of castles on the tops of hills commanding the road
175 and its approaches, the castles, the rough determinants of various regions
349 formerly under a regional nobility. To the west there was Kochinda castle,
631 Tamagusuku on the east, Gushichan castle near Hanashiro, where a surviving stone fence can still be seen, and the castle site of Itokasu. There is reason for believing, as we mentioned in Chapter 1, that this is in the general area of oldest settlement in the island.

[Text continues on p. 49 --analyst]

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[3] Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. I, 163, 164, 179-80, and an illustration of a "cung-qua" on p. 180. On the older village with granaries and storehouses, see Green's remarks in Hawks, Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. II, 34, 36, and illustration in Vol. I, 178.

[103] [192] [4] The village is also known as Hanagusuku: the meaning is the same, as shiro is the Japanese, gusuku the Okinawan word for castle. Many Okinawan place names have the suffix, —gusuku.

[5] Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo, as cited, 107.

The village is one of a series of settlements in a long narrow valley, 361
on a limestone plain, bordered on the east by a steep ridge, up to 300 133
feet in elevation and running in a northwest and southeast direction,
which divides the valley from the sea. On these cliff like formations, [137]
large outcrops are covered with shrubs and miscanthus grass. Lanes and [491]
roads lead from the valley floor to the summits of these hills, where [824]
villagers collect their firewood and grass for roof thatch. On the rocky, [764]
steep slopes of this seaward ridge, above the line of cultivation, is the
tomb area. Precipitous and stony hills prevent cultivation, but occasionally [417]
a sharp tongue of land reaches far up the slope, its end protected
from the rains and wash by a short stone fence.

Between Gushichan and Hanashiro village, there is a bridge over a 491
small stream, its upstream course obscured by its dispersion in the rice 133
fields. The dirt road, gradually ascending, cuts through the main rice [243]
growing area of the village, on a gentle slope, reflected in the bench
cultivation of the rice fields. Here and there are large rocks and [137]
stony outcrops, with an occasional scrub pine, cycad, or a covering of
miscanthus. Cultivation goes around these large stones.

The road, about one-fourth of a mile from the bridge, soon leads 361
into what looks like, from a distance, a densely wooded area. This is
the settlement.

With the exception of the rough stony land of the limestone mountains 134
and steep slopes, the soils of the area are the Okinawa clay loams and 133
the Chinen stony clays lying on the limestone plains. The farm and 311
village area takes up approximately 427 acres, of which 257 are in gently
sloping Okinawa clay loams, a deep, well drained, neutral to slightly acid
and very fertile soil. Another five acres is of the same type but these
are in slopes, of a gradient ranging from 8-15%. There are 80 acres in
gently sloping Shuri clays, shallow, moderately fertile, an olive colored,
crumbly, calcareous clay; another 35 acres in the Awase clays, deep
fertile, crumbly, calcareous clay of olive-gray color, and 14 acres of
rough stony land.

The hillsides and the summits are free of densely growing trees 311
and shrubs, and the lowlands are given over to cultivation. There are
no groves of trees to protect the crops from typhoons. The trees and
the protection they give are confined to the village. This is typical
of many villages of southern Okinawa, where the hills and mountains have
few trees, and dense growths are associated with habitation.

Inside the village, winding lanes branch off the main dirt road. 361
The older houses are on the north side of the road. On the opposite side, 363
the houses, newer or rebuilt since the war, adjoin the cultivated area.
In the older section, the dense shrubbery, the tree lined lanes, broken [417]
occasionally by stone fences, wind through the village with footpaths
branching off, sometimes past an open field, a reminder of a failure to [487]
rebuild after the war. On the northern outskirts is the village office,
its gong in the yard, the open field, a playground for the children. [367]

361 The village is a group of houses, each with its own compound, and
351 these give it an inclosed look. There are few if any gardens or vegetabl
patches either in the compounds or within the village settlement.

363 The lanes resemble quiet winding country roads. The rock fences, or the lines of trees or shrubbery often conceal the houses. There is a appearance of loneliness in these lanes and roads, except at busy times of the day when the children return from school. The lack of commercial
[482] activity, except for the women carrying rice on their heads to the mill
[462] and for the small village stores, contributes to this impression of quiet which one would expect from the routine of agriculture. At night, when
[354] the doors are drawn, and when the flickering and smoky oil lamps are lit, the loneliness and quiet of the village is even more pronounced. The
[493] lanes and the roads are deserted, save for an occasional passing truck, bicycle, or three wheeled cycle, and in one of the favorite words of all
[192] Okinawans, the place is sabishii.[6]

Since there is little activity in the village other than farming,
366 neighboring villages and distant towns supply the additional needs. At
368 nearby Oushichan village, there are the primary and junior high schools, the post office, the township and agricultural association offices, a barbershop, and some small stores. At Minatogawa, about one and one half miles away, there is a public bath, and across the river from this village, in Horikawa, an occasional play from the Okinawan stage, or a movie. Buses run through the village twice a day and one can make connections to Naha or Itoman, the two most likely places for buying
[494] or selling. Or one can take the three wheeled cycles which pass through more frequently.

727 Physically, the village was much affected by the war. On June 11, 1945, the front line ran through the cultivated area between Hanashiro
362 and Oushichan villages. Hill 95, the scene of fierce fighting was in the vicinity of Hanashiro.[7] One can still see an occasional tank track, abandoned helmets and scattered fragments of war materials in the fields. The village was affected by the war in ways which are now observable indirectly in the makeshift houses, improvised shacks, the roofs of half
[355] tile and half thatch, the odd additions to the older buildings partly destroyed, and the lack of drain pipes and water catchment tanks. Houses, which to superficial appearance, have existed for generations, have been rebuilt since the war with grass substituting for the tile roofs.
[311] War operations over the cultivated areas also resulted in some loss of land. A long mound in the rice areas, with paths along its ridge, was formerly a road built by the Americans in the final drive toward Mabuni. Almost all the houses in the village were destroyed.

[6] This Japanese word suggests both loneliness and melancholy.

[7] Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 437 (illustration), 434-42 on the struggle for Hill 95.

Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, 363
permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, 423
for it is not in an area in which the military has required land.
Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way 511
of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions.

3

Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe 361
string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along [275]
the seawall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war.
Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly [311]
used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village,
retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main [244]
road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas.

Like Hanashiro, this village is in Gushichan township, and located 361
on Highway 64. It is directly on the main historical road, previously 133
mentioned, which led from Naha to the Chinen peninsula. The road, along
which its houses are built, parallels for a distance the estuary of the [491]
small Minatogawa river. This narrow estuary, called Usaregawa, which
connects the river mouth with the Pacific Ocean, and the small river
itself (Yuhigawa) is a boundary between Gushichan and Tamagusuku townships.
On either side there are steep cliffs, the sites of the best [316]
known stone quarries of Okinawa.

The settlement and the adjoining lands have an area of about 256 621
acres. It is a mixed economy village with three distinct occupational 463
groups: fishermen, stonecutters, and farmers. There is a second village whose borders blend with those of Minatogawa. These two villages are now known officially as Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku. The two terms can be awkwardly translated as Minatogawa first ward, and Minatogawa second ward. But popularly they retain their older names: Minatogawa for the fishing village, and Nagamo for the agricultural second ward. These two separate but adjoining villages were until 1925 a single village.

The division was the result of distinct differences in outlook and [226]
occupation between the two sections. Minatogawa is a fishing village
and has strong ties with Itoman, a town on the East China Sea shore
about 4 1/2 miles away. Nagamo is an agricultural community originally [241]
settled from Naha and Shuri. Stone-cutting operations spread over both [324]
areas. While the fishing village of Minatogawa was given the emphasis
in this study, it will be necessary occasionally to include Nagamo in [128]
the discussion.[8]

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[8] The writer did not realize until he lived here that two villages were involved, thinking that the two wards referred to a single administrative unit. By this time the work on Hanashiro had been well started, and time did not permit the intensive study of Nagamo. 114

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The main road through Hanashiro. This is an unposed picture. The children happened to be playing along the road. Scars can barely be seen on the close clipped heads of the young boys. The poor non-descript clothing is typical. There is a high rock hinpun or stationary gate at the entrance to the compound. The tile roof here is out of the ordinary. The gajimaru tree, used for typhoon protection, is on the left. This is also Highway 64.

[P. 51 (A)]

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Treeless Minatogawa. This is the business district of the village. The buildings are small village shops. The building in the upper left is the village inn. The road winding toward the right is Highway 64 leading to Gushichan. Minatogawa stone is visible on the back of the store on the right of the picture. The low stone hedges in the foreground are typical of Minatogawa.

[P. 51(B)]

The people of Nagamo are farmers. The seat of their extended families 596
is in Naha and Shuri, and they have their own local deity places 776
(ujigami in Japanese). The people of Minatogawa are fishermen, their 778
extended family seats are in Itoman. They too have their local deities
and many of their religious ceremonies are centered around the gods of
the sea and the dragon of the sea god's palace.

The population of Minatogawa, as of December 31, 1951, was 1108 162.
(515 males, 593 females) in 213 households, an average of 5.2 persons
per household, and of adjoining Nagamo, 564 persons (262 males, 302
females) with 113 households, an average of 5.0 persons per household.

The fishing village of Minatogawa is believed to be about 250 361
years old. It was founded, according to local residents, by the 173
fishermen of Itoman who were accustomed to fish off shore near the
islands around the southeastern and southwestern parts of Okinawa.
The place was first established as a temporary location for the fishing
boats and later permanent settlement took place. The tombs of Itoman
are still the ultimate burying ground for large numbers of the Minatogawa [764]
fishermen. After 250 years the ties with the parent town are still strong.

The village has two traditions involving contacts with other 173
peoples. The first is concerned with the Chinese. One is a spot on the 777
shore where some Chinese are said to have landed over 200 years ago. Many [778]
fishermen pray to it on certain occasions of the year. Little is known
of what happened to the Chinese, but supposedly they were buried high up
the side of a steep mountain nearby, inside a cave with stalactites.
Bones said to be of these Chinese may still be seen there. The cave is
difficult of access.

There is also the tradition of London sailors said to have been
shipwrecked at the port of Kiyan on the southwest tip of Okinawa. A
child was born of the union of one of these sailors with an Okinawan
woman and the sailor later returned to England. The tomb of the woman [778]
and the child is revered as a religious site. It is now a small
shrine on the outskirts of Itoman called Rondongama, Rondon for London.[9]
Old women of Minatogawa sing a song of this old love called Michinakankai. [533]
The theme of the song is the unashamed love of the woman for her departed
London lover, an Okinawan anticipation of Madame Butterfly.

In this area the low, bare hills form in a haphazard way a series 133
of valleys, some long and narrow, others like an amphitheatre with an 361
open face to the sea. Low passes connect the valleys. One such pass,
about 150 feet high, now on Highway 64, leads from the valley of

[Text continues on top of p. 53--Analyst]

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[9] The writer visited both the cave and the site near Itoman town in August 1951. The shrine is now situated on a small hill on the outskirts of Itoman. The bones were moved here during the war from Maisato village to escape Japanese bombing. A large cave nearby, associated with the mother and the child, is overgrown and very dangerous to enter because of the danger of snakes.

133 Hanashiro and Oushichan villages to a broad semi-circular valley, the
361 Oushichan plain, with a gentle gradient sloping to the sea. Shortly
before the coast is reached there is a sharper drop, and it is in this
depression along the shore and the coastal strip that the fishing village
lies.

134 The Okinawan clay loams and the Chinen stony clays are also the
133 predominating soils of the area. There are about 85 acres of the gently
sloping clay loams, 155 acres of the gently sloping Chinen stony clays.
While moderately fertile and well drained, these soils are also shallow
and stony, with obvious defects for the pursuit of agriculture. There
are 10 acres of deep, fertile poorly drained, slightly acid alluvial
soils. These occur along the river and its estuary and in a small
former river mouth to the south. There are about six acres in rough
stony land.

731 The village has very little storm protection. There are no shelter
133 belts around it, nor are there many trees within. It is open to storms
and typhoons, and the water, lashed by the sea, is sufficient to break
417 and scatter the large stones of the seawall. At present, inside the
village there is none of the privacy typical of the agricultural villages
361 and their compounds. There are few trees, shrubs, or fences. In the
older part of the village, the houses are closely set together. Fishing
351 nets hang on the lines of the yard. In season, the yard is covered with
227 drying fish, fish fins, and fish backs. The yards and the shore are
dotted with men cleaning or repairing their boats.

362 The lack of natural beauty of the place is accentuated by the poorness of the houses and the other buildings. Its atmosphere is unmistakably
512 different. The village is more commercial and more lively than the quiet
and concealed agricultural village. Life is not so much of a routine, for
484 much depends on the weather and the sea. The village has people who have
travelled widely. Some of its fishermen have been in the waters of Java,
of the South Seas, of the Andaman Islands, the Philippines, and Indo-China.

438 The village's main commercial contacts are with the remaining
agricultural villages of the township from which it must obtain much of
[311] its food, for the area is not suited to agriculture, nor is much land
available. For wider contacts, there are Itoman about 4 1/2 miles, and
Naha about 8 1/2 miles away. Buses go through the village twice a day.
499 The three wheeled cycles are irregular but come and go more often. Fish
is sold at Naha. The theatre for the travelling troupe of actors from
368 Naha and for movies is in Horikawa across the river. Many visits are
574 also made to Itoman to see relatives and friends.

The war was even more catastrophic for Minatogawa than for Hanashiro.
727 Before the war, Minatogawa was a thriving, prosperous and well built up
small town. About 70% of its buildings had a tile roof and 30% had
[361] thatch roofs. There were about 30 stores, sake shops and drinking places,
including a geisha house, along the road, serving the fishermen and the
stonecutters. Of the 430 buildings in the area, only three were left

standing. At one time, the Minatogawa beaches were seriously considered for the initial landings in Okinawa, and later as a possible second landing. After the campaign for the south had begun, Minatogawa became a forward loading point.[10] The present village has been completely rebuilt, and the newer buildings, with few exceptions, are frail and undistinguished. The war shows its effects, too, on the southern part of the village where there is a barren acreage, formerly the site of an army camp, its top soil so shallow that the bulldozers in levelling it soon reached the rock beneath. 727 [362] [311]

Nearby Nagamo is a village of a different type. It is divided into two distinct quarters, also a result of the war. The old part formerly was to the north in the main stonecutting area, but following the destruction, a new settlement was started in the farm land a few hundred yards south. Cultivation is marginal on the shallow soil of the sloping valley before it descends into the flat coastal area in which the fishing village is located. 727 361 [134]

Minatogawa, which means River Port, is a distinctive village reminiscent of the famous fishing town of Itoman, though without its size, beauty, or color. 103

4

Matsuda

Matsuda is a here-and-there type of village. The village area including the community owned forest is over a square mile. The countryside is dotted with several small sub-settlements. Within each sub-settlement, the houses also are scattered about and separated from one another by large trees, thick growths of shrubbery, grasses, stone fences, and cultivated fields. 361 [423] [311] [351]

The village is located in Ginoza township (Ginoza-son) on the northeast side of the island. This township is in the northern district (Kunigami, or Yambaru). The village is on Highway 13, which winds along the northeast coast through Ishikawa, Kin, Kanna, and Ginoza villages. 361 103 [491]

Though near the sea, a typical site of a northern Okinawan village, it is a settlement engaged in agriculture and forestry. Its name suggests its nature. Matsuda is a compound of the characters for pine tree, matsu, and rice field, ta, da. Though there is some fishing in the sub-settlements along the Pacific shore, it is casual and a part time occupation for farmers on the coast. The families exclusively 361 [241] [313] 226 463

[text continues TOP of P. 55--Analyst]

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[10] The statistics on village destruction are taken from accounts of the villagers. They are estimates. For operations in this area, see Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 68, 74, 426-27, 436, 439.

226 engaged in fishing are permanent or transient families originally from
463 Itoman, a place name which comes up whenever fishing is mentioned anywhere
in Okinawa. Agriculture and the care and utilization of the community
forest make up the significant economic activities of the village.

162 Matsuda had a population of 1370 individuals (604 male, 766 female)
as of November 30, 1951. There were, at this time, 243 households, an
average of 5.6 persons per household. The village is said by local
361 residents and antiquarians to be about 600 years old. If the age is
correct, it must be one of the older settlements in northern Okinawa.
Before the war, this village was known as Kochiya.

173 Matsuda also has its lore regarding shipwrecks and foreigners. There are old men who believe Perry's party came to the village and that they left carvings on the top of a picturesque rock in the *Burushii* district along the coast, a not unbelievable story since the explorers certainly were not far from here.

Near the seashore, but in a very remote area, there is a natural
bridge, concealed by large trees. Roots of the banyan grow through the
[137] thirty or forty foot drop from the top of the bridge until they find
root in the soil below. On a ledge under this bridge, there are two
[764] old and open boxes which were used to collect the skulls and bones of
unknown persons. Locally it is believed that they are the remains of
shipwrecked sailors, possibly Hollanders. There are still 25 or 30
skulls there, and many of the bones are scattered on the ground. The
place is seldom visited.

361 The village rests on low rolling hills. The combination of the
133 hills, the depressions, the caves and the sinks give the topography an
uneven almost rugged character. There are few flat places and these are
seldom wide. They are the narrow meadows or valleys between the hills.
241 The hilly nature of the surroundings determines to a large extent the
manner of cultivation, and historically probably has had much to do with
311 the shapes of the individual parcels themselves. One does not see in
this area the plains or small valleys with rice cultivation that is observed
in Haneji township near Nago or around the island of Ū in
Tamagusuku township, or even in the Hanashiro area of Gushichan township.
In these communities, the normal pattern of cultivation is that the rice
is on the lowlands, with the slopes and upland areas devoted to sugar
cane, the sweet potato, or other crops, or left to native grasses. Here
in the hundreds of small hills, all of these may be observed in close
proximity, hard work and minute tillage comprising with the topography.

361 The village is subdivided into several distinct areas: (1) the main
311 part of the village where most of the houses, the village office, the small
stores, the rice mill, the sawmill, the power plant, and the barbershop
are located, (2) a reclaimed area known locally as the *kaikon*, newly
settled and with a different type of land use due to the poorness of the
land and to the fact that it is a deforested area, (3) a district near
the sea coast and along the sea with scattered settlements, isolated
houses, and some cultivation, and (4) the forest lands, which in the

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In the center of Matsuda. Large trees growing in the settlement. Small garden plots are near the houses and sheds. These houses have thatched roofs except the tile roof in the left center of the picture. A freshly hoed plot is in the foreground.

[p. 56]

361 traditional attitudes that the north was a culturally rude and physically
311 inhospitable place. The highway which now goes through the center of th
main part of the village is a good, hard surfaced, dirt road, widened
since the war. A lively traffic of trucks and buses and the three wheel
[491] cycles contrasts with the narrow pre-war roads, traces and abandoned
sections of which can still be seen. The frequent buses supply transpor-
[494] tation to the larger cities and towns of the island: to Nago across the
island and slightly to the north, to Ishikawa on the south, and to dist
Naha, about 31 miles away.

727 Matsuda, unlike the southern villages, was not destroyed by the war.
There were some air raids, some bombing out of the houses, but nothing
like the destruction in the main areas of conflict. Early in the Okinaw
campaign, the north was cut off and isolated and the struggle for the
[362] island took place in central and southern Okinawa. As a consequence,
many of the old houses, sturdily built with tile roofs, have been preserv
[342] Numerous refugees from the south gathered in this area during and after
[166] the campaign. In nearby Ginosa (Jinusa) village, slightly over a mile
to the southwest, also on Highway 13, the Americans operated a hospital
[143] for Okinawan refugees. It is still in use. This relative lack of war
destruction in the northern villages has, to a degree, reversed the roles
184 of the north and the south. The opening up of the north, its prosperity,
the survival of many of its old homes, give the impression of comfort
and well being conspicuously lacking in most of the makeshift villages
of the south.

The descriptions of these three villages perhaps make clear the diversity that can be expected among Okinawan settlements. Hanashiro, the small village cluster, with adjoining rice fields on the valley floor, its other crops on the terraced slopes, is the most typical. Minatogawa, the fishing village in an impoverished countryside of stony or shallow s is dependent on the seas and its catch for its livelihood and the wherewithal to buy the foods which cannot be grown in sufficient abundance. Matsuda, a collection of small settlements, scattered here and there fro the coast inland, with its large preserve of community forest, is an example of agriculture in a forest setting, and of the use of the forest
in daily living. This by no means exhausts the diversity. The village o
136 Oku to the north, with its tea, its rice, its fences for wild boar pro-
tection, its cycads planted on the hillsides to prevent erosion, is still
[242] another example. But our task here is not to catalogue all diversity, bu
to indicate that it exists and to a much greater degree than would appear
to superficial observation.

CHAPTER IV

000

VILLAGE POPULATIONS AND POST-WAR ADJUSTMENTS

1 Generalities on the Population History of Okinawa Island

2 Village Populations and their Characteristics

3 What Happened with Repatriation

4 Attitudes on Birth Control

5 Conclusion

1

Generalities on the Population History of Okinawa Island

Virtually nothing is known, to my knowledge, of the growth of population in Okinawa in historic times. Early travellers made some estimates, but they gave no basis for them. In a previous chapter, it was mentioned that the introduction of the sweet potato in the early 17th century must have allowed a greater population on the island than had hitherto been the case. No doubt also malaria and other diseases kept the population down, at least until the latter part of the 19th century.[1] This ignorance of population growth extends down to recent history. 161 174 [177] [164]

There seems to have been very little immigration to the Ryukyus and the population has probably been homogeneous for long periods of time. There were many Japanese in Okinawa, but these were largely in the towns and main cities. Most of them left after the war.[2] This meant that the population of Okinawa continued to be made up of preponderantly the native born, though in recent years there has been some immigration of Amamians. 167 [563] [162]

Emigration during the 20th century has been the outstanding fact in the population history of the island. Little is known of the nature of this emigration, but it is believed to have started in the early years of the twentieth century. Until World War II, emigration was the answer to the problem of a population that was growing beyond the ability of the island's resources to support it. It has been estimated that the emigration from Okinawa prefecture in the period 1920-1940 was over 193,400 persons. This represented a loss of 98% of the estimated natural increase for the 1920-1940 period. It was 34% of the prefecture's total 1920 population.[3]

The Okinawan campaign, also, was accompanied by large scale displacements of people who remained on the island. It was estimated that in a pre-invasion shifting of the population, over 3/4 of the people 727 166

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 60 -- ANALYST]

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[1] Dr. Green in 1853 estimated the population of Okinawa at 150,000 or possibly 200,000. But this was only a crude guess. Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 36. For population estimates prior to World War II, see CA Handbook, as cited, 45-51.

[2] As of Nov. 30, 1946, 57,345 Japanese, 1,755 Koreans, and 21 Formosans had been repatriated from the Ryukyus, with 3,706 Japanese remaining to be repatriated. See note 3 following.

[3] Newman, Marshall T. and Eng, Roman, L. The Ryukyu people, a biological appraisal. Amer. Journ. of physical anthropology, n.s., 5 (1947), 113-57. Reference on pp. 135-36. This estimate was made by subtracting the estimated natural increase from the total increase, 1920-40, making allowances for the under registration of births. On postwar population history immediately following the war, see pp. 135-46 of this article.

727 166 were in the north and central portions of the island.[4] During the campaign, the displacements of people and the destruction of villages in the south were particularly striking. Large numbers were sent to the Kunigami region. "There they overwhelmed the local inhabitants and all suffered great privations, despite the efforts of U. S. personnel to properly feed, clothe, and house them." By June 1, 1946, 138,000 had been resettled, and as of July 1 of the same year, there were still 125,000 displaced persons on the island.

167 728 The war and the subsequent occupation have stopped the historic emigration of Okinawans. Repatriation began in 1946. By November 30, 1946, a year and four months after the conclusion of the Okinawan campaign, 183,077 Okinawans had been returned, 142,713 from Japan, 26,003 from the Pacific islands, 12,154 from Formosa, 1954 from Hawaii, and 253 from Korea. An additional 36,720 were awaiting repatriation at this time. The result was that "by November 30, 1946, repatriation brought 161 the population up to within 40,000 of its early 1944 level." The total population of the Ryukyus on February 22, 1944 was given as 857,019, and 817,160 on November 30, 1946. In this short period of 16 months, the war losses had been largely made up. While these figures are Ryukyu totals, Okinawa island, as the largest and most populous island in the chain undoubtedly reflected these trends.[5] According to the 1950 census, the population of Okinawa island was 517,600.

The twentieth century history of the population of Okinawa is therefore one of large scale emigration up to the war, wholesale displacement of people within the island during the campaign of 1945, the repatriation of considerable numbers of Ryukyuans following the conclusion of the war, and the present period of growth of the population under conditions of peace, health measures, and without the historic outlet of emigration.

2

Village Populations and Their Characteristics

162 727 One can only surmise what has happened to the population structure of Okinawan villages as a result of the war. The old records which would furnish materials for detailed comparisons have been destroyed; hence, one can know only vaguely how the present characteristics of village populations compare with the pre-war conditions. The contemporary characteristics of the population of each of the villages studied and for the totals of each of their respective townships are shown in the accompanying population pyramids and in the tables illustrating sex and age distribution at five year age intervals (Western age count).

In the totals of the three villages and the two townships females substantially outnumber males, though there is considerable variation in the numbers and proportions within the age groups.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 61--analyst]

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[4] Ibid, 137. Quotation is on pp. 140-41.

[5] Newman and Eng, as cited, 140-41, 143. See also the very interesting article of Henry S. Bennett, The impact of invasion and occupation on the civilians of Okinawa. United States Naval Institute Proceedings, 72 (1946), 263-75.

162
727

There are noticeably fewer children of both sexes in the 5-9 age group. These are the children born from about 1942 to 1946. If these statistics are presented in further detail for the age groups under twenty, further distinctions are clear. These are shown in the following table:

Totals	Hanashiro Village			Minatogawa Village			Gushichan Township			Matsuda Village			Ginoza Township		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Under 5 years	118	70	48	198	101	97	1153	606	547	230	120	110	849	446	403
Under 1 yr.	24	14	10	22	12	10	215	112	103	50	30	20	171	89	82
1-4 years	94	56	38	176	89	87	938	494	444	180	90	90	678	357	321
5-9 years	50	25	25	111	63	48	566	285	281	166	79	87	638	306	332
10-14 yrs.	72	32	40	128	53	75	818	393	426	182	84	98	704	336	368

In Gushichan-son, an active theatre of the war, the proportion of the children under 5 to those from five to nine is 2:1. In Ginoza-son, a much less active theatre, the proportion is 1.3: 1. The corresponding figures for the villages are:

Hanashiro (Gushichan township) 2.4 : 1
Minatogawa (Gushichan township) 1.8 : 1
Matsuda (Ginoza township) 1.4 : 1

In every case the totals of the age group of 10-14 are greater than in the 5-9 year group. In all villages, and in both townships, males are more frequent than females in the age group under one year.

The greatest imbalance in the sex ratios is in the age group from 20 to 49; here the females outnumber the males. During the war years, these groups ranged in age from approximately 10-15 to 39-44 years of age. This group now includes the main child bearing part of the population.

After 50 years of age, the balance between the sexes is somewhat restored and, with some minor deviations, they tend to be about equal, with women predominating at the highest age levels, 80 years and over.

These village statistics indicate that the effects of the war were shown in a shortage of males of young and middle age, an excess of women, to which pre-war emigration of men probably also contributed, and the lowered birthrate during the war years and the probable high infant mortality during the Okinawan campaign. The present broad base, represented by those under 5 years of age in the pyramids is indicative of what might be expected under the Occupation, with public health measures and no emigration. The pyramid for Gushichan township is especially striking in the comparison between the under 5 and the 5-9 age group.

161

If these figures are typical of Okinawa island, they furnish a hint as to the trend toward population increase, a combination of such circumstances as peace, lack of conscription and foreign service, repatriation,

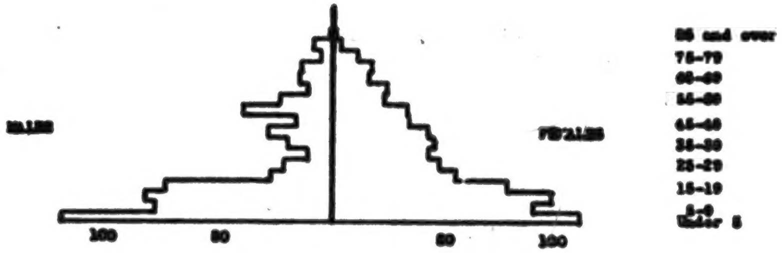
[Text Continues top of P. 65--analyst]

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX

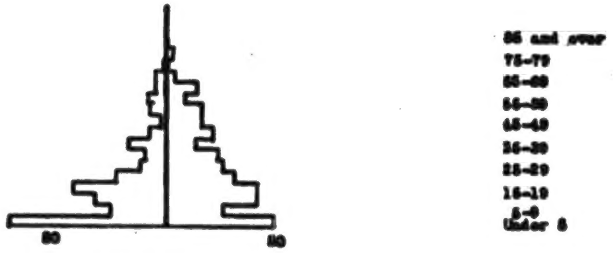
Age Group	Hanashiro Village			Minatogawa Village			Gushichan Township			Matsuda Village			Ginoza Township		
	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F
TOTAL	589	269	320	1108	515	593	6267	2898	3369	1370	604	766	5360	2440	2920
Under 5	118	70	48	198	101	97	1153	606	547	230	120	110	849	446	403
5-9	50	25	25	111	63	48	566	285	281	168	80	88	638	306	332
10-14	72	32	40	128	53	75	819	393	426	182	84	98	704	336	368
15-19	83	43	40	107	57	50	741	365	376	152	75	77	633	302	331
20-24	52	22	30	102	50	52	526	237	289	82	28	54	383	150	233
25-29	38	13	25	86	35	51	401	176	225	69	22	47	288	112	176
30-34	32	10	22	68	28	40	398	157	241	53	11	42	256	84	172
35-39	29	17	12	64	33	31	328	141	187	65	20	45	263	103	160
40-44	28	8	20	50	16	34	280	118	162	71	29	42	246	103	143
45-49	18	3	15	46	19	27	250	94	156	50	16	34	232	88	144
50-54	22	7	15	38	19	19	225	93	132	73	40	33	228	127	101
55-59	15	8	7	35	18	17	205	93	112	47	24	23	186	101	85
60-64	18	5	13	26	10	16	150	64	86	35	11	24	145	58	87
65-69	9	5	4	19	10	9	99	42	57	31	15	16	110	46	64
70-74	1	1	0	14	1	13	67	22	45	31	14	17	90	37	53
75-79	3	0	3	6	1	5	33	9	24	16	5	11	55	20	35
80-84	1	0	1	7	0	7	19	2	17	13	9	4	42	17	25
85 & over	0	0	0	3	1	2	7	1	6	2	1	1	12	4	8

Statistics for Hanashiro, Minatogawa, and Gushichan-son are as of December 31, 1951. Those for Matsuda and Ginoza-son are as of November 30, 1951. Source: Township offices (yakuba) at Gushichan and Ginoza villages.

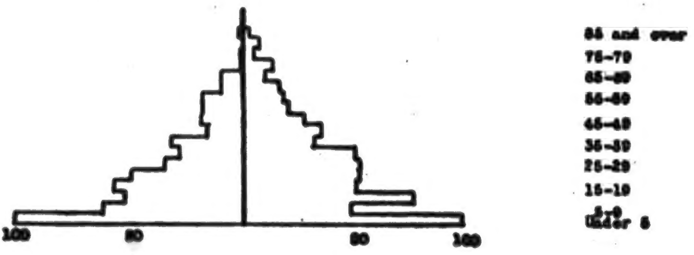
DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX
(Pyramids based on previous table)



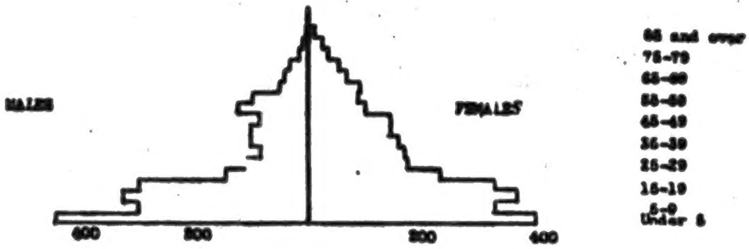
MATSUDA VILLAGE



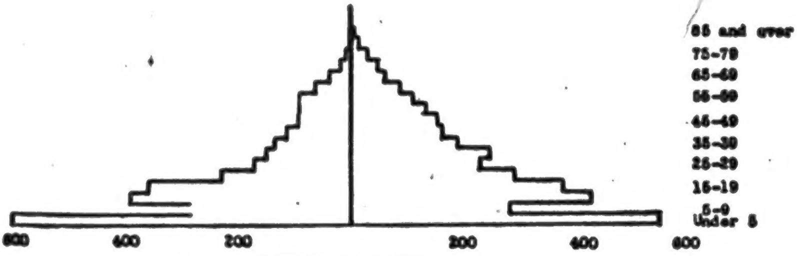
HANASHIRO VILLAGE



MINATOGAWA VILLAGE



GINOZA TOWNSHIP



GUSHICHAN TOWNSHIP

stoppage of emigration, and public health measures. While the following 161
statistics are worthless from a demographic point of view, they may
nevertheless indicate the village trends.

Matsuda Village, 1951 163

165

	Births	Deaths
Total	46	11
Male	26	5
Female	20	6

In Oushichan township, where individual village totals were not available, the statistics show a similar trend:

Oushichan Township, 1951

	Births	Deaths
Total	263	52
Male	140	26
Female	123	26

3

What Happened with Repatriation

In the peace time emigration before the war, the intention to return 167
was almost universal. Typically a first son, as the future responsible
person for his parents, emigrated as a young man, before marriage, with [593]
the intention of accumulating savings and supporting his parents during
his absence, later returning to marry if he had not acquired a wife [454]
abroad. People in the villages now say that the desire to return has
declined sharply with the economic hardships and the threat of renewed [582]
warfare, and that Okinawans in foreign countries will probably remain
there for the rest of their lives. Okinawans living abroad, according
to family registers in the villages, are now mostly in Peru, Brazil,
Argentina, and Hawaii.

The effects of repatriation on the township level can be seen from 161
the following statistics for Oushichan township. Comparable statistics 728
were not available in Ginoza-son.

Pre-war population, 1940	6445
Deaths resulting from the war	1700
Repatriates	1030
Population, December 31, 1951	6267

Despite the fact that deaths resulting from the war must have been [727]
between 20% and 25% of the total population of the township, repatriates

161 plus the excess of births over deaths were sufficient six years after
728 the conclusion of the war to bring the post-war population of the village within 200 of the pre-war level.

•167 Okinawans returning to Hanashiro came largely from Japan, the Philippines, Manchuria, Formosa, the South Seas and a few from Hawaii. From Minatogawa, the areas of former settlement were broader, probably reflecting a wider activity of the fishermen. They came from Java, Palau, Singapore, the Philippine Islands, and Tarawa. Some had previously returned voluntarily from Hawaii and Peru before the war. The largest segments came from the Philippines and Tarawa, the smaller groups from Hawaii and Peru. The repatriates to Matsuda also came from Japan, the Philippines, Hawaii, and the South Seas.

571 One consequence of the pre-war emigration and of the repatriation
[162] that followed was that each village after the war had a group of people who had been in foreign countries or had relatives still residing in foreign areas.

In the villages studied, according to the residents living there
[578] now, repatriation was not accompanied by the tensions and the ill
feeling that was so conspicuous in post-war Europe, especially Germany.
[573] There were no cliques between those who had stayed during the war and those who returned to live beside them.

[423] The reasons for this are probably these: many of the repatriates
even though absent a long time owned land in a village. This was true
of Hanashiro and Matsuda, the agricultural villages, and to a lesser
extent of Minatogawa. Some adjustments were necessary. The land owned
by these people had not been idle during their absence. If a first son
[592] returned, in most cases his younger brother was cultivating the fields
and occupying the family house. He, in the absence of his eldest brother,
[593] acted as head of the house. When the first son returned, he received the possessions and assumed the responsibilities of the head of the house, and in turn gave his younger brother land to establish a branch household. When the returned member of the family was a second son, the adjustment was easier. The first son, if possible, gave his younger brother a house site and fields to cultivate.[6]

Other relatives, parents, younger or older sisters, nephews, or
nieces were absorbed within the family, the parents or grandparents
[602] resuming a retirement which they would have had in any case, while the younger relatives became working and contributing members to the family. They did not come back to an altogether strange place. They or their parents had been born there, and their names had remained in the village family register.

[6] The reasons for these acts will be made clear in Chapter 6 on the family system.

The strong ties of the family system are probably the fundamental 571
reasons for this lack of strangeness. One is a member of the family,
even if in another part of the island or of the world. This sense of [602]
belonging, to be emphasized later, is not only an emotional feeling
but is a basic fact of social organization. Relationships, regardless [156]
of their geographic spread, are a binding force. It is true that
these become weaker with the remoter relationships of the extended
family, but they are still strong enough to blunt the edge of individual
frictions that might otherwise be expected. [578]

There was a niche into which a returning person might fit, whether [554]
he was a parent, a first son, an elder brother, an uncle or niece of
the head of the household. The repatriates who had been long absent were,
in turn, able to make an adjustment to conditions in the island of their
birth because they had continued the same social system in their foreign [178]
residence. They now had to function in a more restricted and less well
endowed natural environment. Dissatisfactions took the form, as they
still do, of longing for better economic opportunity which they hope
will be realized through further opportunities for emigration. They
make comparisons, unfavorable to Okinawa, regarding the ease of making [511]
a living in other countries. Repatriates from Japan, who have returned
to Okinawan rural life, miss the cities and the more exciting life of [156]
that country. Among those who have travelled, there is also a more
noticeable discontent and dissatisfaction with the loneliness of rural
life. The word sabishii is often on their lips.

The ideas of the repatriated Okinawans, furthermore, are not a
new phenomenon in contemporary village life. They did not bring back
points of view unknown before. In the past these had been communicated
by letters and rare visits to the homeland. The reports of the repatriates
were richer, more detailed, and more concrete, but not completely different.
They have--and this is probably one of their chief influences [165]
on post-war village life--stimulated the strong desire of the villagers to [167]
emigrate. Life is hard on the island, and their accounts of greater return
for the same expenditure of work have quickened hopes of future emigration.
These hopes are confined to the New World, Japan, and the Pacific
islands. There is no enthusiasm for migration to other islands in the
Ryukyu chain.

4

Attitudes Toward Birth Control

There is little in the religious belief or in the cultural tradition 842
that would induce, in large segments of the population, a strong antipathy
to birth control on religious grounds, but these beliefs and traditions
are not favorable to it either. Respect for ancestors and the need for
the continuance of the family system are the most important of these. It [602]
is the duty of each generation to provide this continuity between the past
and the future. The links in this chain are male children. Once this [611]

842 need of succession is met, birth control measures might be accepted. There is, it is true, a widespread feeling that many children are a happiness which artificial control should not destroy. But this feeling, especially true with women, is often lost after the fourth or fifth child when mothers may dread further child bearing.[7]

[177] In the villages studied, there is an awareness of birth control. This awareness comes from conversation and reading, the primary sources being Japanese magazines and newspapers. I did not meet anyone who admitted practicing birth control or who desired to do so. According to the informants, it is not practiced at all. There may be some instances.

[167] But birth control methods are not widely understood, and even if they were, it is doubtful that people would use them on their own initiative. The present apathy toward birth control methods may be due to the fact that only recently has the question been of any significance. In the past economic difficulties within a family were relieved by emigration. There was thus little need to think of a limited family. On the contrary, there was pride in a family that might spread over continents.

[183] [562] Historically, the whole emphasis in the family system has been on a large or a medium sized, not a limited, family, and this, even today, is tied in with family pride coming from having children and grandchildren. If families have girls to begin with, the feeling is all the stronger. Though unusual, it is not unheard of to have a family of girls, and even if there are sons, there should be enough of them to take care of the hazards of death.

5

Conclusion

185 Among some villagers—and this seems to be independent of the degree of education—there are now more realistic appraisals of what the soil and the land can make available to a growing population and to their own children. Emigration for the time being is not possible. And, even if it were on a broad scale, it would not only have to skim off the present excess population, but take continuing care of future natural increases as well.

134 There were in all the villages several considerations that have influenced these appraisals. Land is insufficient, even in quantity, though in local areas such as Matsuda, it might suffice for local demands. The arable land is also poor. The poor and insufficient land,

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 69--Analyst]

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[114] [208] [7] This dread of continual child bearing is discussed as an attitude, not as a general truth. The statement is based on conversations with men and women in each of the villages. Many women in Okinawa would not agree with this, but the attitude, I am convinced, if not a prevailing one, is at least frequent enough to be worth recording as something more than individual distaste.

combined with the destructiveness of typhoons, make for an unproductive 134
life in terms of rewards for work done. To these, there is now being [731]
added a fourth realisation, that there are too many people in Okinawa. [511]
Greater mobility has increased this awareness.[8] [161]

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[8] These remarks, too, are based on impressions. Neither would I 114
claim that they represent a majority opinion. Polls with samples 208
competently chosen could only determine these attitudes. But
complaints about the poorness of the land are proverbial among
Okinawans. So are the discouragements coming from the typhoons.

CHAPTER V

HOUSING: THE STORY OF WOOD, GRASS, AND STONE

000

1 Historical Notes on Housing

2 The Courtyard or Compound

3 Types of Houses

4 Building a Simple House

5 Tools

6 Co-operation in Housebuilding

7 Housebuilding Ceremonies

1

Historical Notes on Housing

In all villages, much time is spent, in addition to agricultural 342
or fishing tasks, in housebuilding, either for one's self or for 461
friends and neighbors. Housebuilding is the most time consuming of a
man's tasks after his primary occupation. Repairs to or reconstruction
of the poorer houses are continuous. The man with a good house and a
tile roof has little to worry about. But he will often be found helping [476]
someone less fortunate.

The traditional houses of Naha and Shuri showed both Chinese and 342
Japanese influences. The traditional house and compound of the rural 171
village has been compared with the ancient Japanese house, and it bears
some similarities with houses found among the Ainu.

It would seem from the observations and researches of earlier students 175
that the house was always built above the ground without excavation, 342
and sometimes on stilts. The supporting posts making up the
rectangular house were either placed in holes or on stones on the ground.
The supporting posts, the ridge poles, the cross beams were branches or
trunks of trees trimmed and cut for length. Roofs of thatch had the apex
of the roof covered by a saddle or arch shaped thatch made, like the rest
of the roof, of grass. Smoke escaped either through an aperture in the
ceiling or through a window, as it still does in many of the poorer houses.
The houses were filled with smoke. The oldest rural houses apparently had [352]
only a dirt floor with scattered mats, though some had a raised floor.

The food storage sheds or small granaries were raised on stilts. 175
Engravings of these have appeared both in Perry's writings and in Bayard
Taylor's works. There is some question whether this granary (now dis- 343
appeared) was indigenous or a borrowing. The purpose of the raised granary
was probably to protect against dampness and to prevent infestation by
rats and vermin. These granaries were open sided with no boarded up
walls, and, in Okinawa, were circular.[1]

Animal pens or stalls were not attached to the house, but were always [417]
separate. In the courtyard, earthen rain water vessels were imbedded half [415]
way into the ground to catch the rain water. There were stalls for goats
and pig pens, and the pig pens were used also as a toilet. This is no [364]
longer practiced to my knowledge, although the outhouse with its holes
in the ground is found under the same roof as the pig pen. The entrance
to the courtyard was oppositie the front of the house. The protective
stationary gate, the hinpun (in Okinawan), made of reeds or stones, stood 417
at the entrance inside the court, as it does now, to shield the people of

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[1] For drawings of the granaries, see Satow, E. M. Notes on Loochoo. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8. The drawings follow the text. See also Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 75-85.

417 the house from the glances of the curious. It has been suggested that the stationary gate at the entrance of the courtyard is of Chinese [172] origin, that its purpose originally was to scare away spirits, and that its former presence in the tomb compound indicates that it was intro- [764] duced along with the turtleback or horseshoe tomb from Fukien province in China.[2]

175 351 340 Captain Hall described Okinawan house exteriors and the surrounding buildings, including those of the common people. The house was "buried in foliage" and hidden from view. It was surrounded by a light fence of rods, about one foot apart with creepers on top. These rods were probably stalks of miscanthus grass, or of the dwarf bamboo. The site had a wicker gate, possibly meaning the hinpun made out of the dried grass stalks. One house which he described was divided into two compartments, eight feet square, with a small veranda at one end. The floors, made of bamboo, and about six feet above the ground, were covered with a straw mat. The walls, about five feet high, were wattled with split bamboo, and the house had a pointed thatched roof.

[352] [354] In the interior, there were shelves for bowls and cups, and in a loft or garret tools, nets, or baskets were stored. These installations now are often found in the kitchen. In the middle of one side of the house there was a fireplace, sunk below the level of the ground.

[343] 175 342 Outside, in the compound, a pigeon house, poultry yard and spinning wheels were observed. In another passage, Hall describes a cottage of "wattled rattans" with a light open bamboo roof with thatch and creepers, one wing of which was occupied by goats. The compound consisted of a stable, a pig sty, and a poultry house. There was also a mill. The granary was on posts about six feet above the ground with firewood [325] piled below. There was an anvil with a forge of masonry but no bellows.[3]

The houses of the poor, said Fahs in his report to Commodore Perry, were made of bamboo and had no floors.[4] Accounts around the turn of the century say that houses and granaries were supported by corner posts of considerable height. Schwarts said these posts were about five feet high. The house walls of straw thatch were held in place by bamboo grass matting with a space two feet in width acting both as a door and a window, a matting curtain covering the aperture.[5]

[Text continues top of p. 73--Analyst]

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[2] Simon, as cited, 80. C. W. Bishop has suggested that the stone houses of the Ainus of Hokkaido point to contact with southern insular people. Also, the primitive Japanese hut which was illustrated resembled the we have been describing for Okinawa. It had a thatched roof and a courtyard which was cut off from the outside view by the hinpun. The historical geography of early Japan. Geo. Review, 13 (1923), 40-63. Note especially Figures 5 and 6. (This article was reprinted in Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1925).

[3] Captain Basil Hall, Voyage to Corea and the Great Loo Choo, as cited, 124, 141, 142-43.

[4] Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. II, 50.

[5] Henry B. Schwarts, In Togo's country. New York and Cincinnati, 1908, 148-49.

2

The Courtyard or Compound

The usual present day Okinawan dwelling is in an inclosed courtyard 351 or compound. This varies in size. The average size of these house sites (yashiki in Japanese) is shown in the following table:

	Area in Tsubo a/	Approximate Equivalent in Acres
Hanashiro	184.3	0.15
Minatogawa	70.7	0.06
Matsuda	116.4	0.10

a/ Computed from lists of village house sites in the land registers of each township. The conversion figure of 1210 tsubo (about four square yards) to the acre has been used.

The traditional house site has definite characteristics, obscured in present day Okinawa because of the war destruction. In the rebuilding, [362] much of the housing and the outlying sheds were of poor quality. They are difficult to classify, except in a general category such as shacks or shanties.

The house site, surrounded by its shrubs, trees, or stone fence and with the hinpun at the entrance, or the open side, forms a private courtyard with the buildings arranged around the three sides. There are a large number of possible combinations. A compound in which the house is located across the back part of the site, its front facing the hinpun and the road or lane is typical. On either side, there might be a combined [343] outside toilet and pig or goat pen, or separate buildings for the toilet and the pigs or goats, a food storehouse, and a tool shed. The auxiliary buildings are small, and more correctly should be described as sheds. The outside toilet, with a dirt, stone block, or cement floor, is usually small with one or two holes in the floor. It is used in a squatting position.

All kinds of variations from this description can be observed at will. In the fishing village of Minatogawa, the compound is open. Little hedges a foot or so high or small rock borders take the place of the dense shrubs and trees of another site. Lines are stretched out in the yard. Nets are hanging, and fish are drying on the mats in the courtyard. Sometimes, more out of convention than practical utility, there is a hinpun in front of a house that has no other construction to seal it off from view. And these hinpun might even be made of stray boards or of corrugated iron.

It is not unusual in a compound, in cases in which the house is 592 small, for a young man of the house to have a small separate building. 342 Here he has his blankets, personal articles, pictures clipped from

592 magazines and pasted on the wall, and here he entertains visitors who
342 come for conversation or study.

3

Types of Houses

342 In all the villages studied, the houses may be divided into three general categories: (1) the Japanese style house with the thatch or tile roof, (2) the smaller stone house with the Japanese type floor plan, and (3) various shacks resembling in some details the simple structure of the old Okinawan rural house.

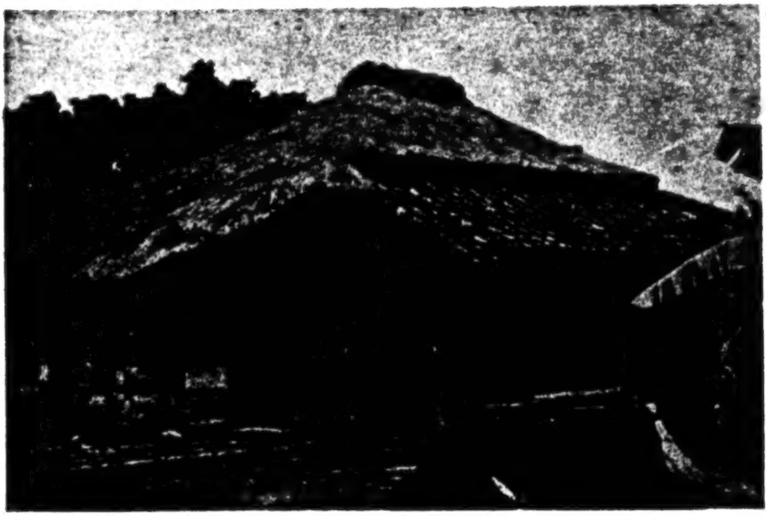
[313] [439] [335] The sturdy Japanese type house is made of excellent hardwoods imported from Japan or brought from the forests of northern Okinawa. This house was often constructed without nails. It was put together by mortise and tenon joints, and also with a piece of wood, square on the edge and about three inches long which functions like a dowel. This is known as a *kusabi*. In modern houses, both of the simple and more complex types, nails are more commonly used.

[355] [411] [352] The eaves of this house are supported by strong poles, unfinished, usually from the Japanese redwood (*sugi* in Japanese, *Cryptomeria japonica*, D. Don) or the *inumaki* (*Podocarpus macrophyllus* D. Don). The poles are placed on flat triangular stones for foundation support. The houses have plank floors. Both the tile and the thatch roof types (to be described later) have the same floor plan with the size of the rooms determined by the number of mats (*tatami* in Japanese) desired.

The half tile, half thatch roof is not uncommon, an indication either of a roof partially destroyed by the war which has been repaired by thatch, or athatched roof gradually being replaced by tile. This is a slow process, as tile is costly. Basically, all of these houses have the same general plan, except for differences in roof materials.

[355] [415] [312] The older Japanese type houses with a tile roof and the newer ones being built on that model are provided with a drain pipe for rain water catchment. This pipe, running along the length and the width of the roof channels the water into a large tank on the ground, reducing the labor involved in carrying water from village ponds or central springs. Many of these rain water catchments disappeared when the old houses were destroyed in the war. Drain pipes cannot be attached to the thatch. In general, rain water is not now a plentiful source of supply in the villages, though buckets and tubs are frequently put out during a heavy downpour, and this water is used for drinking and cooking until it begins to spoil. It may supplement the water carried from a central village faucet, the well, or a pond.

The construction of the Japanese type house is complex. Basically, the design of the house is derived from the arrangement of three rooms,



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A house in Hanashiro. This was partly destroyed during the war. The left side of the house is a post-war improvisation. The owner of this house is replacing the *kaya*, or grass thatch, with tile as he is able to afford it. The cap of the roof is one of the many variant styles. The opening to the left of the picture leads to the kitchen.

plus a sort of veranda, or inside hallway, an inner small porch paralleling it, and an outer porch--but in some cases there is only a stepping stone. The outer walls are usually of Japanese redwood. The houses are unpainted. 342

A narrow porch runs around the front and the side of the house opposite the kitchen. Between the porch and the room proper, there is a space for a paper sliding door (*shōji* in Japanese) and a connecting corridor (or veranda) known as an *en* (in Japanese). This corridor is about 35 *sun*, or almost a yard wide. The sliding doors covered with paper, so familiar in the houses of Japan, have all disappeared, though provision is made for them in the construction. Before the war, some houses had them; in others they were never installed. The rooms, therefore, are usually open, joined in front by the corridor. Partitions may cut off the whole room or be built up to face level. The outer porch (*haji* in Japanese) is in the courtyard in front or on a line with the poles which support the eaves. It may be off the ground about a foot; sometimes a cemented area or a stone walk two or three feet wide and on the ground acts as a substitute for this porch.

The pre-war house, of which a few remain in the southern villages, more in the north, normally has three rooms and a kitchen, with a back part for storage. The size of the house is determined by the number of mats which each room will have, and this Japanese convention produces uniformity and regularity in house construction. Actually only a small minority of houses have these mats. They were more common before the war. The pre-war ones have largely been destroyed or worn out, but during winter months or occasionally at parties or celebrations those remaining are taken out and used. A more modest mat, called a *mushiro* (in Japanese), made in Okinawa, often in the home or in the village, has taken the place of the *tatami*. It has the same function as a throw rug, but is rolled up when not in use. [352]

The names of the rooms also follow Japanese custom. The first room (*ichibanza* in Japanese) is the best. It contains the alcove, or recessed part, suitable for hanging a scroll (*kakemono* in Japanese), or for ornamental and religious objects. This is the room for guests; at parties or celebrations the men gather here, the women meeting in the second room. 342 353

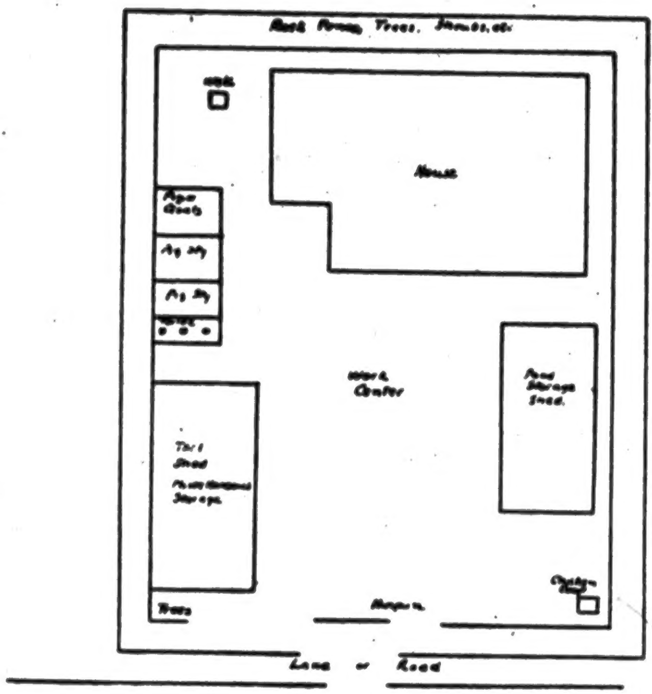
The second room (*nibanza* in Japanese) has the Buddhist god shelf, universal in all houses except the very poor or makeshift ones. This shelf has the memorial tablets (*ihai* in Japanese) of the dead of the family. At parties and celebrations, the second room is the gathering place of the women. [769]

The third room (*sanbanza*) which adjoins the kitchen is a dining room. It has a small, low table for meals, perhaps a wall shelf. All of these rooms are also sleeping rooms (*nema* in Japanese). [352]

[Text continues top of p. 78--analyst]

DIAGRAM OF A HOUSE COMPOUND

351
342
343


Rock Fence, Trees, Shrubs, etc
Well
House
Goats
Pig Sty
Pig Sty
Work Center
Food Storage Shed
Tool Shed
Storage
Trees
Hinpun
Chicken House
Lane or Road

These rooms, opening on the front of the house along the corridor, 342
do not run the full length of the house. A fourth, a back room, running [353]
across the back part may open on to the kitchen. Sometimes this room
is only roughly finished and used for storage or sleeping purposes or [513]
both. A grandmother often takes the grandchildren (other than the infant)
to bed with her in this room.

The kitchen is set off from the rest of the house by being on a
lower level, perhaps one step. The kitchen usually has a hard dirt
floor. Occasionally it is cemented. Sometimes it has a chimney,
sometimes a hole in the side of the wall, which the curious smoke rejects
in favor of a leisurely diffusion throughout the other rooms of
the house. The kitchen is not part of the house in the sense that the [576]
other rooms are. The shoes are not removed when entering it. The
kitchen opens out on to a stone or dirt path. Women frequently still
eat in the kitchen because of its convenience and the need of going in [264]
and out to get water, or to wash vegetables, or to get food from the
shed during the preparation of a meal.

The stove is basically an open hearth with a hole at the top for 354
the cooking pan. There is also a hole directly below this into which
the fuel can be placed. More elaborate stoves may have three tiers:
one for the cooking, one for putting the fuel in, the lower for the
ashes. The most simple, in the very poorest houses, are little more
than a circular group of stones laid on the ground built up so that
a pan can be placed on top. The most elaborate, made of stone, might
run across the width of the kitchen and have several openings. Fuel,
such as odd branches, sticks of firewood brought from the northern
(*Kunigami*) region, crushed and dried sugar cane, or *miscanthus* grass [372]
of varying length is put part way into the fire and pushed further in
as the ends are burned off.

The all stone house is smaller than the wooden house. It invariably 342
has a tile roof, for those able to afford the stone can also
buy the tile. The stone blocks used in house construction are usually [333]
about nine feet by one foot on the edge.[6] The stones used as posts
are buried two feet in the ground leaving seven feet for the upright.
These blocks, called *ishibashida* when used for house construction,
have the same width and breadth; they can be cut to any desired length
to even off the sides. The stones are layed like bricks with mortar to
form the walls of the house. The all stone house is not common, and is [184]
usually seen in the south, where the stone is quarried, in Minatogawa,
and in adjacent villages. These houses are more modern, and often [515]
bathing facilities are built in. The stone house has the advantage of
being cool in summer, warm in winter.

Finally, there are the simple structures, resembling shacks or
shanties more than houses. These are, as one would expect, more frequent [362]
in the areas of the war's operations. There are three main
varieties, though the combinations are numerous: (1) the all grass
house, now uncommon. The sides of this wattled house are usually of

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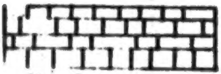
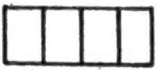
[6] Actually they are 9 x 1 x 1 *shaku*. A *shaku* is 0.994 feet.

TYPES OF HINPUN

417

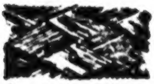


Stone Block - Horizontal
1' x 4', Thickness about 5"



Stone Block - Vertical
1' x 2½' Thickness [illegible] 5"

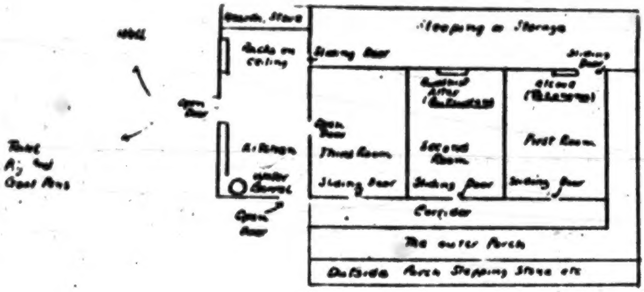
The Kaya (Thorn fence)
Lattice 3 x 5'4"



Diagonal Weave made of green
Yambaru bamboo
Typical size 6'x4'

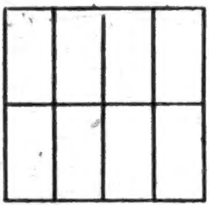
ARRANGEMENT OF THE ROOMS

342



Hearth, Stove
Sleeping or Storage
Wall
Racks on Ceiling
Sliding Door
Sliding Door
Buddhist Altar (Butsudan)
Alcove (Tokonoma)
Open Door
Open Door
First Room
Toilet
Pig and
Goat Pens
Kitchen
Third Room
Second Room
Water Barrel
Sliding Door
Sliding Door
Sliding Door
Open Door
Corridor
The outer Porch
Outside Porch Stepping Stone etc

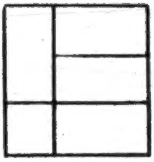
8 Mat Room



Size of mats
3' x 6'

4 1/2 Mat Room

[352]



342 an interwoven diagonal weave of miscanthus whose hollow stalks at maturity are strong but brittle, resembling in appearance a very small piece of bamboo. (2) The house with a simple thatch roof with walls of various sized rocks or small pebbles cemented together with mud taken from the yard, and (3) a thatch roof house whose frame is built with small rough hewn poles, over which a thin cheap pine siding is nailed. The construction of this house will be described in some detail below because, with the exception of the modern pine siding to replace the straw or diagonal weave, it is, according to the Okinawans, the oldest type of native rural house.

354 The house must have heat during the winter. The kitchen hearth is not used for this purpose. The kitchen fires are allowed to die down and are only started at meal times. It would be too expensive or wasteful of gathered fuel to do otherwise. Room heat is provided by a brazier (hibachi in Japanese). This may be a large square box with an inset lined with metal in which ashes and charcoal are placed. Some winter cooking may be done here. The hibachi may also be a large earthenware pot in which coals of charcoal are placed. [415]

[184] In some old homes, another device suitable both for heating and cooking, can still be seen. This was observed in Matsuda, but not in the southern villages. This is also a sort of hearth (jiru in Japanese). The jiru consists of a hanging bamboo pole one end of which is secured by a rope tied to a lattice in the ceiling. On the other end of the pole, about three feet long, there is an iron hook with another device, like an arm bent at the elbow, allowing the height of the hook above the fire to be adjusted. The handle of the pot is placed on this hook and the pot hangs at any desired distance over a bed of coals and ashes. This hearth is not in the kitchen, but at one corner of the dining room, usually where the two open rooms adjoin. The jiru is rare in the villages at the present time. It is from this device that the former practice of a mother and a new born infant "roasting" themselves takes its name; both the mother and the new born child were exposed, in a closed room, to heat from the jiru or from a brazier, even in the intensest heat of summer.[7] [852]

4

Building a Simple House

342 The following description is based on observations made of the construction of a simple house in Minatogawa. The steps are given in some detail because it was said that this house was being constructed in the manner of the traditional rural Okinawan house.

Rough hewn poles were used. The traditional method of putting on

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[7] This will be discussed in Chapter 13 on family life in the section on the rearing of children.

BUILDING A SIMPLE HOUSE

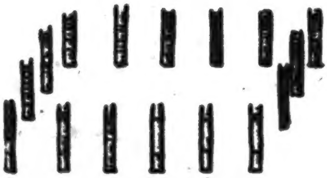


Fig. 1

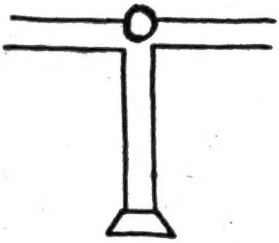


Fig. 2

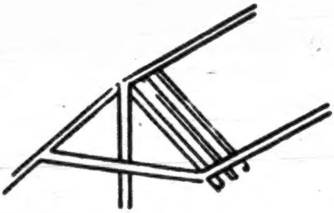


Fig. 3

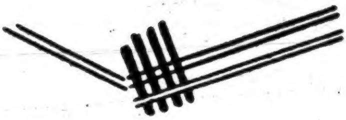


Fig. 4

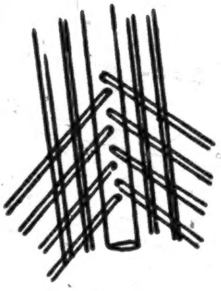


Fig. 5

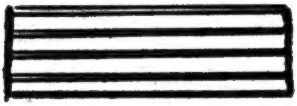


Fig. 6

the thatch is old and the pine siding obviously has replaced the diagonal wattle, but in other essentials it is a simple peasant hut built in rural Okinawa for generations. 342

(1) The upright supporting poles for the frame of the rectangular house are set on flat stones. In Minatogawa, where they are quarried, they are especially cut for this purpose. The uprights are set about six feet long, and 3 1/2 inches in diameter. The poles are set so that there are four on the sides, six in front and rear, the end poles serving a dual purpose. (Fig. 1) 342 335

(2) On the front and back, cross poles, or tie beams to support the roof are nailed on to the cut end of the upright. The poles on the sides are fastened by making a simple groove the diameter of the pole. (Fig. 2)

(3) With the frame completed, the box like structure is ready for the ridge pole and its supports. These uprights are longer, perhaps 9 or 10 feet, and provide the slant of the simple gabled roof. They are also set on stones, but inside the area inclosed by the upright supporting poles. The ridgepole is now nailed to the ends of the center posts.

(4) The problem now is to provide a frame on the slanting roof for rods of miscanthus which in turn support the thatch. For this purpose, smaller poles, like rafters, run from the peak of the roof to project over the eaves. (Fig. 3)

(5) These rafter poles, set about one foot apart, jut out over the eaves on the front and back of the house about 1 1/2 feet. The ends of these small rafter poles are joined together with a longer horizontal pole. This horizontal pole is nailed on top of the ends. (Fig. 4) These poles may not be long enough for a whole side. They are rough, often crooked. If they are not long enough, the ends of two poles may be lashed together with rope.

(6) These rafter poles are not fitted or grooved into the ridge pole. Neither are the ends mitred. Instead the poles' ends alternate with one another. (Fig. 5)

(7) Horizontal poles are then laid across the rafter poles and nailed down. These brace the structure and divide the roof into a series of rectangles.

(8) The frame of the house is now completed and it is ready for the roofing and the siding. To help in nailing the rafter poles, women prepare a braid of rice straw or miscanthus and nails are inserted into the loops of the braids. The braid is handed up to the workman who puts it between his teeth, providing a continuing source of nails, as he tacks down the poles of the roof. Old men and old women prepare the nail braid. [283] [887]

342 (9) While the stones are being set and the uprights are being
[462] put on them, the women of the house and their female friends and
[476] relatives have brought in miscanthus grass and have begun making
sheaves, tying each sheaf with a piece of grass. This goes on
[824] while the rafter poles are being nailed down. It is over this that
the thatch is placed. The grass may be green or dry. In December
it is in blossom, and when it is used, it gives the roof a snowy,
fluffy appearance.

342 (10) A series of short rods of dwarf bamboo or dried miscanthus
335 stalks is then prepared to fit over the checkerboard made by the intersecting poles of the roof. The ends of these, which are about 7
feet long and 1/2 inch in diameter, are inserted into the braid of
two lengths of rope about 5 feet long. These rods are placed at
about 3 inch intervals. These frames are laid end down slope. They
[284] are lashed to the poles and to other bracing material beneath. All
this is the work of men. While some of them are on the roof, others
[462] have begun nailing the siding. (See Fig. 6 for a sketch of the frames).

This is a very cheap lumber about 6 feet x 1 inch x 3/8 inch. The sides are boarded up like shingles except that the boards have uniform thickness. Each board overlaps the next lower one by 1/2 inch, a space of about 3 inches is left from the top of the upright poles to which the siding is nailed. The siding is sufficiently thin so that one side need not be thicker than the other.

(11) The triangular odd corners formed by the cross beams, the rafters and the center post are filled by fitted pieces instead of the rows of parallel rods used for the larger and more regular areas.

342 (12) The roof is now ready for sewing the thatch on. First,
284 the women throw several sheaves of miscanthus on the roof. They
are tossed by hand or pitched by a rude pitchfork made by lashing a
short branch to a long pole to form a Y. This is the kishi. (Fig. 7).
[413] One workman goes inside the dwelling. He has a pole about 6 feet long (a
hari, the Japanese word for needle) pointed at the end with a hole near
the point. (Fig. 8). Starting from the eaves and working up, the man on the roof unties the sheaves and spreads a layer of grass along the length of the roof. This layer is held in place by a horizontal pole placed over it. The man inside has threaded the needle with stout twine; he pushes the long needle with the twine up through the network of the roof. This is taken by the workman on the roof who feeds the needle with its twine back again. This sewing continues until the three layers, the checkerboard, the parallel rods which have been lashed to it, and the grass with the poles to hold it down have been finally sewed together. As each strip is completed the workmen move up the slope a little. The grass is about 3 1/2 feet long and about one foot is allowed loose on the end to overlap the layer below. That portion of the grass which is not free is tied and sewed very securely. There is much tugging, pulling, and grunting to make the knot as tight as possible.

000 (13) As the top is reached, another operation is necessary to cap

(13) As the top is reached, another operation is necessary to cup the peak of the roof. The two layers of grass require, when they meet, 342
something to cap over them. This is done by laying down over the peak 335
a rectangular frame of poles to form the base for the cap. The grass is then heaped up on this bed. It is held down by long rods of dwarf bamboo or miscanthus, forming a rough arch and running lengthwise. These rods with the grass underneath are sewn on to the ridge pole and the surrounding network of poles underneath with heavy twine or rope. Often also sharp sticks are placed cross ways. These are known as kansashi and derive their name from the pin used by Japanese women to fasten up their hair when they wear the traditional headdress. These sticks in fact perform this function; perhaps even better, they can be compared to the long hat pin. A thatched roof so constructed will last a long time, often 5 or 10 years, though it may be changed more often if damaged. Very often if the house has a thatch roof and the sides are made of a weak material, the house, including the roof is bound around with a heavy thick wire, cable or rope to protect it from typhoons. (Fig. 9 for a sketch of the roof).

The interior of the simple house which we have been describing is finished off in a simple manner with flooring and siding, also of cheap quality.

It may be added, parenthetically, that there are two different 342
methods of laying the tile roof. In the hipped type, the tile slants from the roof to the eaves. The variant is the hipped type with a small gable. Occasionally, on the tile roof, an ornamental lion shaped terra [532]
cotta figure is placed for decorative purposes.

Tile is set over a foundation of long rods of small bamboo, dwarf bamboo or mature large size miscanthus. Rice straw is used to tie these rods together and to the frame. Mud, usually found in the yard and often containing considerable clay, is placed over this rod base and the tile is set so that the crests of the two pieces of tile which meet on the bottom are cupped by a tile on top. (Fig. 10).

5

Tools

Carpenters' tools are Japanese imports, although local blacksmiths 413
make tools based on the Japanese design or repair them. The common [439]
tools are: [326]

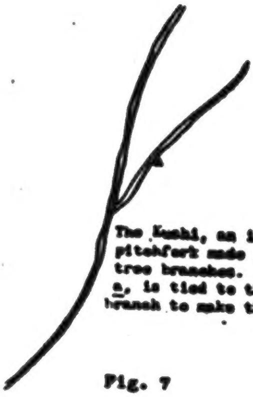
(1) The plane (kanna in Japanese). The plane iron is set in a rectangular block of wood. In working wood, the plane is drawn toward the operator.

(2) A smaller plane

342

[413]

BUILDING A SIMPLE HOUSE



The Kushi, an improvised pitchfork made out of tree branches. The piece, a, is tied to the main branch to make the fork.

Fig. 7

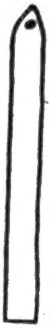
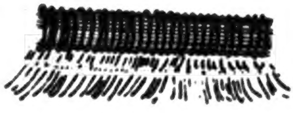


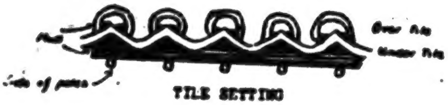
Fig. 8

[335]



CAPPING THE ROOF

Fig. 9


Mud
Over tile
Under tile
Ends of poles

TILE SETTING

Fig. 10

413

(3) Chisels (nomi in Japanese) of various sizes.

(4) The hand saw (nokogiri in Japanese). There are two kinds: a single edge for cross cut, or a double edge, the second for rippling. The saw has a short blade and a long handle.

(5) A kind of hatchet (te-ono in Japanese).

(6) A rabbet plane (motoichi)

(7) The square (kanejaku)

(8) A gimlet, the large hand operated boring tool with a T shaped handle (ōkii ana in Japanese, bōtō in Okinawan).

(9) The common brace and bit.

(10) The hammer, both claw and ball pein.

(11) The sumi tsubo (in Japanese). This is a reel with a string. As the string is drawn out from the reel, it passes through an India ink paste which is in a shallow flat dish situated at the point where the string comes out. The inked string is made taut along the line to be cut, snapped sharply, resulting in a black line along the desired cutting edge.

(12) The sumisashi (in Japanese), a short stick, dipped in ink, which is used for drawing a cutting line by hand usually with a square or rule to join longer lines made by the inked string.

(13) A plane for use on curved surfaces (the maruka in Japanese.)

(14) A sandshaker. When mortar is needed, an improvised sandshaker may be constructed. Long poles are set up wigwam fashion. One end of a wire is fastened to the apex of the poles, the other to the end of a wire net. The other end of the wire net is held in the hands. Sand is put on the mesh, and the device is then shaken so that the fine sand goes through. Long poles such as those used for the sandshaker or in building construction are called maruta (in Japanese). [417]

6

Co-operation in Housebuilding

342
476

In Okinawa, co-operation among villagers in larger tasks is not conspicuous.[8] Housebuilding is an exception. Depending on the size, any number of people in a village may participate in building a house. If the house is small, only friends or immediate relatives are likely to assist. But if it is a large house, friends or neighbors may work one or two days, and relatives three or four days.

[8] The nature of village co-operation will be discussed in Chap. 18

342 Co-operation often takes the form of a division of labor. In
476 building an elaborate permanent house with cement foundations, siding,
plank flooring and a tile roof, greater skills than the handyman
463 techniques of a smaller house are required. In the building of a house,
men with special skills, such as a carpenter, a cement mixer, a stone-
cutter, or a mason participate; others bring lumber and wood from the
mountains, as in Matsuda, or lay the grass on the tile roof. In some
[464] cases, all the labor may be donated; in others, the carpenter, the cem
mixer, the stonecutter may be hired, with helper's work done by volun-
teers. In simpler construction, the carpentry may be done by anyone
who has this secondary skill but is primarily a farmer or a fisherman.
People who have those skills are said to have half and half occupa-
tions (hannohangyō in Japanese).

7

Housebuilding Ceremonies

342 In building, a distinction is made between a temporary and a perman
house. A temporary house may be built following a typhoon or a fire,
or it may be constructed for a poor man and in fact be a permanent hous
for the family, the good house to come being more an aspiration than an
early reality. The marks of a permanent house are construction with
beams, instead of poles, good siding, a good roof, now mostly of tile,
a design based on mat size, and a cemented kitchen. Housebuilding cerem
ies and celebrations apply only to the permanent house.

[184] Ceremonies or observances during stages in the building of a hous
differ from place to place and among people in the same village. In
342 Matsuda before the house is started, the owner, his friends, and
neighbors gather and offer a prayer that the house be a good and a happy
782 one. Before construction, and once each year following completion, rice
cakes (mochi in Japanese) and sake are placed in each of the four corners
[262] of the house site. Three rice cakes are put on the smallest of three
saucers which fit into one another. Two of these saucer sets with the
[273] rice cakes, together with a sake bottle and a small cup are placed on
a tray. The east, north, west, and south corners are visited in that
[415] order. Sake is poured from the flask to a small cup. There is a short
prayer. A piece of white paper, attached to a stick of dwarf bamboo
(Yambaru take) about one foot long is burned. The sake is poured over
the embers. The top rice cake is placed on the corner; the other two
remain on the small plate. Prayers are offered for protection against
[825] the deadly snake (habu). The rice cake is then picked up. On the next
corner, the ceremony is repeated.

When the ridge pole is put up, the carpenter prays that there will
be no injuries. Observances at the raising of the roof (muneage in
[183] Okinawan) seem to be universal in the villages. Three parcels, one of
salt, one of bean paste, and one of charcoal are wrapped in a leaf--any
[262] will do--and these are tied with a string and suspended from the inner
side of the crossbeam or from the ridge pole. There are no prayers at
This Time.

this time. Upon completing the house, the owner gives a party for those 342
who helped him. During the last day of work, with the party scheduled for 527
the evening, the workmen strive feverishly to complete the house on time. 788
This is a party to celebrate a task completed. Sake flows freely. Occa-
sionally on the last day, a man walks around the house talking to himself
and throws salt toward the inside of the house. His words are not formalized [273]
and not known to his hearers. After finishing throwing the salt, he bangs
the back of the house three times with a stick. This custom is said to be
gradually disappearing, and is only occasionally practiced in Matsuda.[9]

In Hanashiro, there is a similar custom that differs in details. On 342
the date the house is started, there is a small ceremony. A plate contain- 782
ing boiled rice, bean curd, a kind of fritter (tenpura in Japanese) and [362]
meat, together with a flask of sake are placed in the center of the site
on which the house is to be built. Prayers are offered that the house be [273]
a good one. The ceremony of raising the roof is identical with that pre-
viously described in Matsuda. This applies only to the raising of the
ridge pole, no ceremonies taking place with the erecting of the side poles.
The center board, near to or nailed to the ridge pole, and from which the
articles wrapped in a leaf or in sea weed are suspended, is inscribed with
the word, shibiranka. Its meaning is unknown to me. One villager said it [192]
was the name of a legendary Chinese protector of houses.

In one instance from Minatogawa, instead of the salt, charcoal, and
bean paste, only a bit of charcoal (tsumi in Japanese) was suspended and
wrapped in seaweed (kombu in Japanese).

About 20 years ago in Hanashiro, the celebration on the day of com- 342
pletion was much more elaborate than now. A pig was killed, fish purchased, 527
and a large feast was prepared to which the whole village was invited. The
celebration now is confined to relatives, friends, and helpers, including
the carpenter, whether hired or a volunteer.

In Minatogawa, when a good house is being built, there is the custom of 342
going to a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese) to discover the lucky day [791]
for commencing construction. This may be repeated to find the lucky day for
putting up the poles and supports or putting on the roof. Here also a son [777]
about to establish a branch household and to build his own house takes a
food offering to his father's house, places it on the Buddhist god shelf, [782]
gives thanks, and prays for good fortune before construction starts. When
the house has been completed, similar offerings are made, either before the
god shelf of the new house, if it has been installed, or again at the
father's house. In this village, the usual observances are confined to the
raising of the roof and to the celebration following completion of the home.

One last custom observed in all the villages is that one does not move [823]
into a new house unless the tide is coming in. Other occasions in which the
tide is taken into consideration will be discussed later. The idea here
seems to be that one moves at times of growing fullness and increase not at
times of ebb and withdrawal.

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[9] I was unable to secure any explanation of the reason for this and the other practices beyond the familiar statement that "it is a custom." (shukan)

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PART THREE

THE FAMILY AND THE LAND

CHAPTER VI

THE FAMILY SYSTEM

1 Introduction

2 Kinship Terminology and the Kinship System

3 The Extended Family and its Branch Families

4 Individual Families and their Branches

5 The Pivotal Importance of the First Son

6 Adoption

7 The "Growing Up" Parent

8 The Household Order Naming System

9 Conclusion

1

Introduction

Everyone knows that the family is a most important social institution in Asiatic countries such as China, Korea, and Japan. 602 What is not 171 so well, nor so widely understood, is that the idea of the family is deeply involved not only with obligations and duties within a family, [182] but also with such matters as ancestor worship, inheritance and succession, land tenure, public and private holidays, and in certain phases of community organization and of government. It is better therefore to abandon the expression family and substitute for it a term which at the outset suggests the implications and ramifications of the idea of the family. This term is the family system (kazoku seido in Japanese). The Ryukyu Islands have felt the influence of China, Korea, and Japan in [177] many different ways and at different times. Perhaps the most important of these borrowings, ultimately from China, is the family system.

The family system is a series of mutual obligations and duties 602 which members of a living generation of a family owe to one another, to those who have lived before them and who have been responsible directly or indirectly for their present condition and status, and owe also to those who will come after them to perform for their time the tasks now imposed on the contemporary generation.

The family system embraces the same family relationships found in countries of the west. Here as in the west, the biological family, composed of the husband, the wife, and the children, is the fundamental unit [594] of social organization. In American society, family ties beyond the immediate biological family tend to become more fragile, and indeed often become so within the biological family itself—due in part at least to a strong tradition of individualism and greater mobility.

In Okinawa, the biological family is but a segment of a wider system of family relationships. These spread out not only into the contemporary extended families but find expression also in reverence for those who have [769] lived in the past and in a feeling of responsibility for the continuation of the family into the future by assuming one's duty to prevent extinction of the family line. In the so-called ancestor worship, there is this expression of the extension of the family system throughout time. Ancestor worship, the conventional term, is not quite correct, but it conveys the general meaning desired. Actually it is not only the ancestors but all deceased relatives, including child descendants, whose memory is revered.

The family system is a great chain of responsibilities and obligations which extends from the remote past to the remote future and of which the living generation is the responsible contemporary representative. It is this aspect of the family system that makes it more a philosophical, ethical, or social concept than merely the descriptive term for a system

609 of contemporary relationships. The family system does not mean only family life, or a set of obligations, or a family. It is all of these, and, in addition, a historical continuity. It is an institution in which the past is constantly intruding on the present and in which the present is a combination of acts to secure one's own livelihood and well-being as well as to perpetuate the family in the future. A simple illustration will make this clear. One of the obligations of living members of a family is to observe the death anniversaries of close relatives. [769] The last, the most important, and the most sumptuous of these observances occurs on the 33d year after the death of the relative who is mourned. Thus a grandson, most likely the first son of a first son, may end this period of memorial observances for a grandfather whom he may never have seen. There is a constant intrusion of obligations coming fro the past. These, often onerous and expensive, are honored in a positive manner.

In the present, conscious plans are made for the continuance of the family. These are achieved through three closely inter-related devices: [591] the succession of the first son to his father's house and, on his marriage, taking up residence at the father's home, the system of inheritance which [428] favors the first son, and the establishment of branch households for other sons, awarding them, if the family's wealth permits, a house site and fi for cultivation.

In this way, the continuance of the main line and collateral branches of the family is provided for. If we pursue the illustration of inheritance a little further, we can think of the division of the land as an [428] expression of the family system applied to the use and to the sharing of [311] the available natural resources. The system of agriculture, the scattered ownership of small holdings, the attempts at land conservation and reclamation are best understood as reflections of duties and obligations to the present and future generations in the family system. If they are not seen in this way, they may appear to be isolated practices best discussed as techniques or as aspects of law and custom.

Not only in family observances but in public holidays as well, the [527] subtle influences of the family system can be observed. Public holidays and festivals are centered on two main themes, sometimes both together: [769] thanksgiving for good crops and reverence for those who have passed away. The holiday of O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, in which the departed dead are invited to return for a visit to the homes of their living descendants and the celebrations at lunar New Year are good examples of this.

[582] In village life, the family system is strengthened by the high incidence of intermarriage among local kinship groups. A general lack [621] of mobility in the villages studied has also led to the increase of immediate relatives living in the same village. This lends to community, and even to local government some of the characteristics of a wider family life. The establishment of branch families in the village of their parents

by sons other than the first reinforces this, although there are 621 examples of branch families being established in villages away from the parental home. This intermarriage among kinship groups and the settlement of first sons and other children in the same village brings about a situation in which blood relatives or relatives by marriage are exceedingly numerous. It gives to village life cohesion and solidarity. This was very noticeable in the villages studied. Specific illustrations later will show the influences of these situations on many phases of village life.

It is no wonder then that the family system has a strong influence 602 on community organization and on formal government. The semi-official 621 organizations such as the neighborhood groups (han in Japanese), the young men's association (seinendan in Japanese), and the women's [595] association (fujinkai in Japanese) are made up of blocs of relatives, friends, and neighbors. These circumstances blur the distinctions between the private and the public life of the family. The same is true of village government and probably accounts in large measure for democratic village government. At a wedding, at a funeral, at a birthday celebration for a child, the head of the village (kuchō in Japanese), [622] and often the mayor of the township (sonchō in Japanese) will be present, not for political or vote catching reasons, but because he is a relative, by blood or marriage, or a personal friend of his hosts. This theme will be developed later, but it should be pointed out here that the family system, in its contemporary operations, is not only the mould for shaping the outlines of obligations and responsibilities for individuals, but that it is an important guiding principle in the conduct of community life and of formal government.

2

Kinship Terminology and the Kinship System

We can now explore in more detail the mechanisms by which the family 601 system operates. To do this, it will be well first to list the common kinship and related terms. These are the terms most often met with in conversation and which appear in the family registers (koseki in Japanese). [217] Kinship terminology follows the Japanese practice. Like Western usage, many terms such as grandfather, grandmother, uncle, aunt, nephew or niece refer to relatives both on the paternal and the maternal side. The chief differences lie in the rank order in which sons or daughters of a family are designated. A child ordinarily is not referred to as a son or as a daughter but as a first or second son, or a third daughter, or whatever the case may be. The most common terms, with their Japanese equivalents are listed below. The first word is the honorific term and the word in parentheses is the equivalent but less polite form. In general, the honorific is used in speaking of another's relatives, or in speaking to one older than oneself. The less polite term refers to one's own family or is used in speaking to persons younger than one's self.

Parent	go-ryōshin (ryōshin)
Father	otōsan (chichi)
Mother	okāsan (haha). Young childr often address their mother as okā.
Boy, and general term for son	musuko-san (musuko)
Girl, and general term for daughter	musume-san (musume). This word is often used in the sense of "miss".
First son	chōnan
Second son	jinan
Third son	sannan
Fourth son	yonan
Fifth son	gonan
First daughter	chōjo
Second daughter	nijo
Third daughter	sanjo
Fourth daughter	yonjo
Fifth daughter [1]	gojo
Elder brother	niisan (ani)
Younger brother	ototo-san (ototo)
Elder sister	nēsan (ane)
Younger sister	imoto-san (imoto)
Brothers and sisters	kyōdai
Twins (general term)	futago
Grandfather	ojii-san
Grandmother	obaa-san
Grandchild	mago
Uncle	oji-san (oji)
Aunt	oba-san (oba)
Nephew	oi
Niece	mei
Cousin (usually, first cousin but used loosely also for the second cousin)	itoko
Husband	go-shujin (shujin)
Wife	oku-san (tsuma)
Father-in-law	yoji
Mother-in-law	yobo
Son-in-law, bridegroom	muko
Daughter-in-law, bride, or young wife	yome-san (yome)

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[1] Subsequent ones are formed by adding the number prefix to the bound form nan or jo. The cho in chōnan and chōjo does not mean first, but head or chief.

601

Step-mother	keibo
Step-father	keifu
Adopted son	yōshi
Adopted daughter	yōjo
Illegitimate child	shiseiji
Person living with a family but not a relative	dōkyonin

611 592 Descent is reckoned through the male line. Normally the first son succeeds to the headship of the house, and this is actually true in the great majority of cases, although the failure of the first or later sons to survive to maturity, or the death of sons in the war, have resulted in many household headships being held by sons other than the first, or by daughters. This is brought out in the following table which shows the relationship of the present head of the household to the preceding head.

592 [167] Relationships may be obscured to simple observation because the head of the household (koshu) may reside in a foreign country. This was a common occurrence before the war during the widespread Okinawan emigration, but repatriation since the war has reduced the number of heads of households who live in foreign countries. At present most absentee heads live in Peru, Brasil, or in Argentina. In the absence or disability of the first son, the second and succeeding sons assume his place, not legally, but in practice, and should the elder son return, his younger brother would relinquish the headship and establish a branch family. The family register, however, is not changed to show the temporary head. But his absence may be indicated by a notation.

592 562 A woman, either a wife or a daughter, is not considered in the succession if there are eligible male heirs, but in their absence, she may succeed to a house. The war produced many instances of this. A mother with minor children is the head of the house and has disposition of the family property, but custom and usage circumscribe her freedom of action. In custom, a mother with minor children, especially if one of them is a boy, is regarded as the trustee and caretaker of a house and its fields during the minority of her children, the eldest of whom, if he is a son, will become head when he reaches maturity. In practice, widows with minor sons do not sell or dispose of their property except under strong economic compulsions, and then only after discussion with representatives of the extended family.

592 [591] The real place of the woman in the family system is to become part of the family of her husband. If she marries a first son, she enters the home of her husband's parents. If she marries a second or a third son, she is part of a branch family established by her husband. There is general agreement among Okinawans with whom I consulted that the residence of a young wife with the husband's family does not result in the prolonged quarreling and bickering which have made the mother-in-law [606] and daughter-in-law relationship so legendary a topic in Chinese and Japanese society. Disagreements exist, but according to residents in

[Text continues top of p. 95--analyst]

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HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS NOW RESIDING IN HANASHIRO AND MATSUDA
(Classified according to their relationship to the previous head)

Relationship	Hanashiro	Matsuda
First Son	81	61
Second Son	16	41
Third Son	6	16
Fourth Son	2	11
Fifth Son	0	6
Sixth Son	1	1
Seventh Son	0	1
First Daughter	11	29
Second Daughter	1	8
Third Daughter	0	7
Fourth Daughter	0	5
Fifth Daughter	0	0
Sixth Daughter	0	2
Illegitimate Son	0	1
No Data	3	18
Totals:	121	207
Male	106	138
Female	12	51
No Data	3	18

Source: Analysis of village family registers (*koseki* in Japanese) as of August 1951 for Hanashiro, December 1951 for Matsuda. The figures for Matsuda are incomplete and represent 207 of the 243 households in the village. One volume of the Matsuda family register was lost or not available at this time. Minatogawa data are not available from the new register compiled following the destruction of the old one in the war.

each of the villages, they seldom reach real intensity or a point 592
where the husband sends his wife back to her parents and obtains a 606
divorce.

A special problem, ordinarily calling for adoption as the solution, 597
is the situation in a family with no sons. During the child bearing
ages a family tries very hard to get a son. The man with a family of [842]
daughters will resort to adoption of a male child of a relative, if
at the end of a child bearing period, no sons have been born to him.
But adoption, while available as a device for insuring the continuity
of the family, is uncommon and does not have the importance historically
attached to it in Japan. Adoption is discussed in more detail in
Section 6.

3

The Extended Family and its Branches

The extended family (ichimon in Japanese, munchu in Okinawan) con- 614
sists of all families in the main and collateral line of descent from 596
the common ancestor.[2] This ancestor, who founded the house, is an
historical, or at least a supposed historical person. The descendants
of the founder of the family, themselves united in a family group, are
thus related to one another, though the older the family, the more remote 602
these relationships become. Many villagers recognize that they are re-
lated to one another, but the relationships are seldom clearly defined
beyond the second cousin. After this people become relatives, (shinseki
or shinrui in Japanese). These words, used synonymously in Okinawa, in-
dicate an awareness of a relationship without knowing offhand its exact
nature. This problem is solved in part, as will appear later on, in
Section 8, by knowing the household order name of each family, but even
here individual relationships are difficult to trace.

601
Contemporary lack of precise knowledge of family genealogies is 217
due in large part to the destruction of many family records during the
war. The keeping of genealogies was common, especially among the families [565]
who belonged to the old Okinawan nobility. The genealogies lost in the
war are irreplaceable. The same is true of the official family registers
which were also destroyed. They were replaced with ones prepared by
officials personally interviewing the families involved. While this
procedure succeeded in recording contemporary data with a fair degree
of accuracy, it could not duplicate the minute details, going back for
generations, which were recorded in the old registers.

[2] Dictionaries usually define ichimon as clan, but I have avoided using this term because of ambiguities in usuage. In American practice, clan has been applied to groups in which descent is reckoned through the mother. See R. H. Lowie, Primitive society, New York, 1920, 111-12. Father-sibs (Lowie's term) or family groups could be used, but the latter term suggests more a collection of families than a large unified family with many sub-families.

614 592 Each contemporary extended family has two main divisions: the main family (honke in Japanese) represented by the families in the direct line of descent, and the branch families (bunke in Japanese) which represent families not in the direct line. The terms, main family and branch family, are also used in a narrower sense to distinguish, within an individual family, between the family of the first son who will succeed to his father's house, and other sons who will establish branch houses.

614 621 The extended family has a main house whose head is the living representative in direct succession of the original founder. The seat of each extended family is a definite site in a village or town. The degree of scattering of the collateral families is dependent on the mobility of people throughout time and the manner in which the original villages were settled. Hanashiro, for example, is considered to be about 400 years old. Sixteen of the main houses are in the village. In Minatogawa, founded as a secondary port for the fishermen of Itoman town, perhaps 250 years ago, the main houses are predominantly in Itoman. In the neighboring village of Nagamo (Minatogawa-niku), an area of recent settlement, the main house of the village families is generally in Naha or in Shuri. Matsuda in the north has family seats not only in the village but some of its collateral families are from adjoining areas, the Motobu peninsula, and also from the south. The location of the main family seats of any village is an indication of the areas from which the place was originally peopled. Considering the [137] smallness of the island and the even more restricted inhabited area--settlement in the northern two-thirds of the island is along the coastal rim which borders the forest--and the general lack of mobility until recent times, it is apparent that each village is composed in varying proportions of kinship groups whose original ancestral house is either in that village or from other villages or towns, most likely from adjoining areas, or from such larger centers of dispersion as Naha, Shuri, Nago, or Itoman.

It is difficult to say how important the extended family is in the culture. It may be spread over many villages in the island. Distance and lack of contact does not create the strong ties that exist within the village among relatives, friends, and neighbors. The following illustrations, drawn from each village, may however furnish some clues regarding the nature and importance of the extended family.

614 In Hanashiro, there are sixteen head houses. These with their collateral branches total 75 families; in other words, of the 121 families in the village, the head house of 75 is located in the village itself. The head houses of the remaining 46 are in other villages or towns.[3] This situation makes for closer ties of the individual families

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[3] Parallel information was not available for the other two villages; it was apparent through discussion that the same situation existed, although the proportion of main and branch families might be different.

to the extended family, even if in some cases relationships are very distant. This point may be illustrated by discussing the relationships among six families named Shiroma in Hanashiro. The first family is the contemporary representative of the main family line. It is a main family. Its present head is an adopted child, but that does not change the situation. The second family head is a descendant of the younger brother of the grandfather of the head of the family; he is the grandson of the main head's great uncle, and therefore a second cousin of the head of the main family. The third and fourth families are branch families established by his father's younger brothers and are his first cousins. The fifth family is a very old branch family, going farther back than the grandfather. The sixth, in turn, is a branch family of the fifth. The present head of the main family does not know the relationship of the present heads of these two households to himself. 614

The fact that there are 16 main families with their 75 branches in the village of Hanashiro does not mean that there are not other branches of these main families. There are more than 75 families in the extended family. These are merely the branches of these 16 main families which reside in the village.

The head of a main house has responsibilities which are not shared by the heads of the branch families. He is the custodian of the tomb of the extended family. The head house is the meeting place of the extended family reunions. These normally take place on the 15th day of the 7th lunar month, the festival of O-Bon, and on lunar New Year. The extended families, or representatives that may reside in a village which is also the seat of the extended family decide questions of concern to the extended family as a whole. Such a question might be the case of a widow with minor children. For economic reasons, she seeks to sell her property. Since the disposal of property in land is intimately connected with the present and future fortunes of a family, the members of the extended family, especially if many reside in the same place, discuss this matter and give advice which the young widow in practice follows. [764] [527] [769]

Hanashiro is a good example of an old agricultural community in which descendant families have tended to remain in the same place as the original founder of the family. Those collateral families with main houses elsewhere are, in the main, from adjacent or nearby areas. 621 614

When this situation is compared with Minatogawa, certain differences are at once apparent. The fishermen of present day Minatogawa are descendants of settlers originally from the large fishing town of Itoman. Many of these fishing families are related by blood and intermarriage. Not only this, but there is a web of interrelationship which includes Itoman and its daughter village of Minatogawa. Of the 213 households in Minatogawa, 53 had the surname of Tamaki (or Tamashiro), 47 of Uehara, 21 of Oshiro, and 20 of Kanashiro, the four surnames accounting for 141 of the total households. People with the same surname who live in the same village are almost invariably related.[4] Compared with other [628] [551]

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[4] In sample checks made personally this turned out to be true, but the relationship was often so distant as to be unknown. All informants stated that people living in the same village who had the same surname were relatives.

621 614 villages studied, these frequencies of families with the same surname
are very high. The seat of these extended families of the Minatogawa
fishermen is in almost every instance the town of Itoman. The tombs
[764] of Minatogawa are entirely different from those of the neighboring
agricultural communities. They are small and temporary tombs for
keeping remains that will later be removed to the large, often
dramatically situated extended family tombs of Itoman. One resident
of Minatogawa aptly described his village as a "bunke (branch family)
of Itoman."

463 This is an unusual situation and can not be fully explained except
621 by a study of Itoman and the smaller fishing villages scattered throughout
614 out Okinawa Island. One explanation might be that historically Okinawans
have been farmers, and that, while they are excellent fishermen, they ha
not as a people participated in large numbers in fishing, leaving this
activity to definite groups, such as the people of Itoman town. The
passing down of occupations of the father to the son, the infrequency of
change in occupation, especially from agriculture to fishing, the establishment
of daughter villages, such as Minatogawa, might account for the
fact that fishing is the occupation of a compact group of families who
have intermarried and continued in their traditional occupations. Even
in Matsuda, to the north, the temporary colonies of fishermen are either
Itoman people or are their descendants. (There are of course a few local
farmers who do some fishing). The close ties between Minatogawa and its
parent town of Itoman illustrate the persistence of occupational and soc
relationships over a period of two and a half centuries.

614 Certain exceptions to the usual practice in Minatogawa accentuate t
closeness of extended family relationships between Itoman and Minatogawa.
As an illustration, we may take the case of three related families in
Minatogawa who are not fishermen. The head of one family is a retired
farmer, his son is a school teacher, and a third is a distant relative i
a stone cutter. These people, formerly members or descendants of members
of the nobility, came from Shuri. The main house of their extended fa
is in Shuri. This contemporary extended family now has so many members
that the places for reunions and meetings have been increased, since the
site of the main house in Shuri, founded by the original ancestor, can
no longer accommodate all the members. The places of worship are divid
[778] into the main place, (umuta in Okinawan) and intermediate places
(nakamutu in Okinawan). Some of these secondary places of worship are
in nearby Naha. The number of these cases is small compared with the
closely knit ties of the fishermen's families with Itoman town.

In Matsuda, the extended family operates as it does in Hanashiro;
the former town, there is an illustration of another point regarding the
extended family system: the identity of a family name with a village n
Historically, the family took the name of the place; the place did not
receive the name of the family. Though the situation is not clear, it
[565] would seem that when the king made grants of land to nobles that they
adopted the name given by the king to the place, while commoners did not
receive surnames, but were known by their household rank order — to be
explained in Section 8. The village of Matsuda, for example, is the se

of the head of the extended Matsuda family. In the extended family reunions at this home, which is on the presumed original site of the first house, on New Years and on O-Bon, there are member families not only from Matsuda itself, but from villages in the Motobu peninsula, Nakagusuku, and the Nakijin areas. There are about 180 persons in the present extended family group of the Matsuda family, of whom about 80 attend the reunions. In these extended family reunions, the heads of the branch families who reside in other villages may send money--about 10Y--for charcoal sticks (senko in Japanese) and sake to be used in the observances. These meetings occur at New Years, on the birth of a child, at the celebration on the naming of a child, for the worship at the family tomb in the third month of the lunar year, and on O-Bon in the seventh month. Another practice in this family illustrates a variant in extended family customs. In the Matsuda family, the members of the main family, every seventh year, hold worship at the homes of branch families at Nakagusuku and Nakijin during the festival of the fifth lunar month. 614

The importance of the extended family, it would seem, varies somewhat with the families comprising the larger kinship group. While in the extended family, the ties are not so close as those of the immediate family, and even of friends and neighbors, these ties though sometimes tenuous are really a geographical network of relationships that provide the basis in fact for belonging and for being part of a wider community.

The force of this fact should not be underestimated. It is part of the personal security and of being a link in the chain that is so integral a characteristic of the family system. It is not unusual for a person to go to another village or to the larger towns and to have his relatives in the extended family receive him and take care of him for long or short periods. The head of the extended family and his custodianship of the family tomb, and his leadership in the reunions further cement these wider relationships. With some, it is true, extended family observances are perfunctory. A school teacher, for example, said that when his beliefs in religion and in the worship of ancestors were stronger, he visited the site of the main house quite often; now his visits were perhaps once or twice a year, and these were done as a matter of form. But still they were done, and the indirect effect, if not to deepen religious conviction, was to maintain personal ties with the wider kinship group. There is little doubt that the extended family reinforces and solidifies the family groups, especially when several branch families are located in the village of the seat of the main family, or with those, like the fishing community of Minatogawa, whose family seat is in a common parent town. There does not seem, however, to be that strong sense of extended family loyalty that has been remarked upon so often in the traditional Chinese family system, especially among the gentry class. [574] [183]

4

Individual Families and Their Branches

614 Up to this point, we have been describing the extended families which are composed of the main and the branch families which have descended from a common ancestor. The discussion may now be carried one step further to describe the individual family and its branches.

592 [599] The individual family is the basic unit of village life. Normally this individual family is the biological family, composed of the parents and the children. But it is surprising how often family units or households are made up of relatives other than the biological family to create many varieties in family composition. The numerous deaths, as a result of the war, have added to this variety.

An attempt has been made in the following table to hint at the variation of family composition in the villages and to show this in further detail according to the number of individuals in a family. This table is a compromise, for with so many combinations, it cannot show the full detail without reproducing the composition of each family in each village.

In this analysis, family units have been broken down into three main groups: (1) those with single heads, usually but not always representing older people, (2) those with male heads, and (3) those with female heads.

The grouping of male heads has been further broken down into seven sub-groups: (1) the husband and wife, (2) the husband, wife, and child or children, (3) families with a husband, wife, children, plus other relatives, (4) families with a husband and wife, no children, but with other relatives, (5) the male head with children only, (6) the male head with children and other relatives, and (7) the male head with other relatives only.

Those family units having female heads were subdivided into three groups (1) the mother with a child or children, (2) the mother with child or children, plus other relatives, and (3) the female head with other relatives.

The general category of other relatives was necessary in order to present the materials in compact form. Other relatives most commonly are younger brothers and sisters, parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts, nephews, or nieces.

The table shows how widely the families vary from the normal biological family. In Hanashiro, only two of the ten units with two in the family are composed of a husband and a wife. Four have female heads with other relatives, meaning generally that women are taking care of a younger brother or sister, a parent, grandparent, or another relative. In Minatogawa, 13 of the 41 units with three in the family are widows with children only or widows with a child and another relative. Women are frequently heads of families and this incidence ranges from two to nine in the family. This is striking in Minatogawa, where twelve of the 38 units having four members of the household are composed of women and children, or of women and children and other relatives.

The table is not able to show the composition of large families except in general terms. This can be indicated in a different way by two or three actual illustrations of the family composition of larger units. These examples also indirectly illustrate the force of the family system in the care of close and more distant relatives.

(1) A Family of Twelve, Matsuda Village.

The head, a first son, born in Matsuda, 1914
His wife, also born in Matsuda, 1916
Father of the head, born 1894
Mother of the head, born 1892
Younger sister, 6th daughter, born 1934
Younger sister, 7th daughter, born 1937
First son of the head, born 1937
First daughter of the head, born 1939
Second daughter of the head, born 1943
Second son of the head, born 1945
Third son of the head, born 1945
Third daughter of the head, born 1949

(2) A Family of Eleven, Hanashiro Village.

The head, a second son, born in 1895
His wife, born in 1894
Second daughter of the head, born 1923
First son of the head, born 1927
First son's wife, born 1924
Third daughter of the head, born 1933
Grandchildren (children of the first son and his wife):
  First son, born 1945
  Second son, born 1948
Illegitimate first daughter of the first daughter, the latter not in the household.
Illegitimate second daughter of the second daughter.
First son of the second son, the latter not in the household.

(3) A Family of Fourteen, Minatogawa Village.

The head, age 27
His wife, age 25
First son, age 7
First daughter, age 4
Second son, age 2

[Text continues on p. 105 -- Analyst]

FAMILY COMPOSITION OF THE VILLAGES

592
621
162

FAMILY HEAD	NUMBER IN THE FAMILY 1			2			3		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Single Heads:									
Male	4	10	11						
Female	4	12	12						
Male Heads with:									
Wife only				2	23	19			
Wife and Children Only							8	19	20
Wife, Childr, Other Rels									
Wife and Other Rels								3	1
Child or Children Only				1	1	2			1
Children and Other Rels						2		3	
Other Relatives Only				2	2		9	3	
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children Only				1	8	8		9	13
Children and Other Rels					1	1	2	4	
Other Relatives Only				4	1	1	1		1

	4			5			6		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:									
Wife only									
Wife and Children only	13	20	10	7	13	16	3	10	11
Wife, Childr, Other Rels		1	4	2	8	6	1	9	4
Wife and Other Rels	1	1		1			1		1
Child or Children Only	1			1					
Children and Other Rels	1	1		1	2				
Other Relatives Only	6	3	2	6			1	2	1
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children Only		9	5		7	8		2	1
Children and Other Rels		3	2		4	1	1	5	
Other Relatives Only	1		1						

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

FAMILY COMPOSITION OF THE VILLAGES, con'td.

592
621
162

FAMILY HEAD	NUMBER IN THE FAMILY 7			8			9		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:									
Wife only									
Wife and Children only	3	7	8	4	3	4	1	1	2
Wife, Childr, Other Rels	5	7	4	1	5	3	4	3	6
Wife and Other Rels									
Child or Children Only	1								
Children and Other Rels	2	1		2		1			
Other Relatives Only	1				1				
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children only		1	4		1			2	
Children and Other Rels									
Other Relatives only					1				

	10			11			12		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:									
Wife Only									
Wife and Children only	1								
Wife, Childr, Other Rels	3	1	2	3	3	3	1		3
Wife and other Rels									
Other Relatives Only									
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children only									
Children and Other Rels						1			
Other Relatives only									

	13			14		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:						
Wife only						
Wife and Children only						
Wife, Childr, Other Rels	1	1			1	
Wife and other Rels	1					
Other Relatives only						
Children and Other Rels	1					

SUMMARY

597
621
162

	Total	Single Heads	Male Family Heads	Female Family Heads
Hanashiro	120	8	102	10
Minatogawa	238	22	158	58
Matsuda	207	23	137	47

Note: This and the preceding tables represent: (a) 120 of the 120 households of Hanashiro as of December 31, 1951, (b) 207 of the 243 households of Matsuda, since one volume of the register was not available, and (c) 238 listings from Minatogawa, while there are only 213 households. As far as could be determined, there are 238 heads of a family (koshu) who are living in 213 households (kosu). There is thus some doubling up, probably among the female heads who are living in the houses of relatives. A house or a residence in the physical sense may thus have one or more heads of houses or families, just as two families might live in the same house anywhere. No attempt therefore has been made to reconcile the differences.

592

Mother of head, age 48
Grandfather of head, age 65
Younger brother, age 25
Younger brother, age 16
Younger sister, age 9
Younger sister, age 11
Younger brother's wife, age 25
Two nieces, ages 4 and 2, daughters of the eldest younger brother and his wife.

These examples, of which many more could be given, illustrate several points regarding the family system. It is not uncommon to have as many as four generations in a family unit, the present head, his parent, the children, and the grandchildren of the head. There are four generations in illustration #3. The combination of a first son and his wife, with his parents, his younger brothers and sisters, and the head's own children, a common composition, illustrates the responsibilities of the first son both to his parents and to his siblings. Responsibility [848] for illegitimate children is with the family of the girl. Occasionally a husband will accept an illegitimate child born to his wife either before or during the marriage, but it is more usual for the illegitimate child to be reared in the household from which the mother came. In the second illustration, one illegitimate daughter lives with her grandparents and the mother is not in the household. The third illustration shows an unusual situation in which the young head and his wife have their children, his mother, his grandfather, minor younger sisters and brothers, and, in addition, a married younger brother and his wife and their two children. Ordinarily these would have established a branch family and not have been part of the older brother's household.

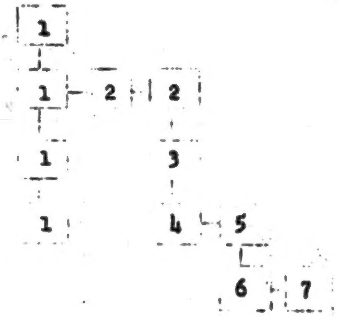
At present, the commonest family compositions are (1) the biological family, (2) the family with a young eldest son as the head with the widowed mother and other minor brothers and sisters, a type of composition which has increased as a result of the war, (3) uncles, aunts, cousins, and occasionally unrelated persons may live in the house, (4) often grandparents are found with their grandchildren, (5) widows with minor children are also common, an incidence increased by war.

The percentage of widows in Minatogawa, in addition to the casualties [162] of war, is due to the loss of fishermen at sea, a not uncommon tragedy [165] as the typhoon season coincides with the best fishing seasons. Since widows with children seldom remarry, the family composition remains the [581] same until the first son assumes the leadership of the family and the mother resides with him.

Each of the families making up the extended family is either a [596] main or a branch family. This arrangement is repeated in the individual families as well. If we take as an example a family with both parents, [582] a first son, a second son, and a first daughter, we may expect as a normal development that the eldest son will marry between 24 and 27 and [591] live with his wife at the home of his parents, that the father will

596 live with his wife at the home of his parents, that the father will
formally retire from active management of his property--but not from
[887] physical labor--at the age of 60, that both parents will continue
living with their eldest son, the daughter-in-law, and the grand-
children, and that the second and any succeeding sons, when they reach
marriageable age, will marry, and at this time--if it has not been
done before--the father or the eldest son will provide a house site
and some land, permitting the establishment of a branch family. The
[591] first and succeeding daughters will marry first or other sons of
other families, leave their parents' home and accept a position in the
main or in a branch family of the husband's house.

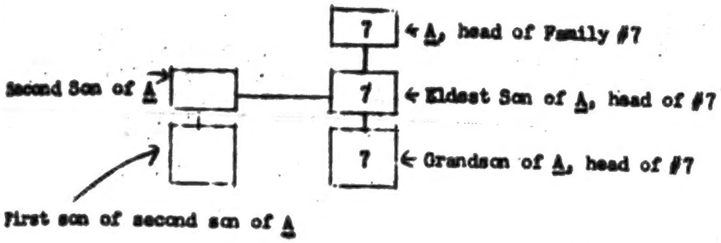
613 596 The parallelism in structure between the extended family and its member families and the individual family with its branch families established by sons other than the first can be seen in the following diagram:

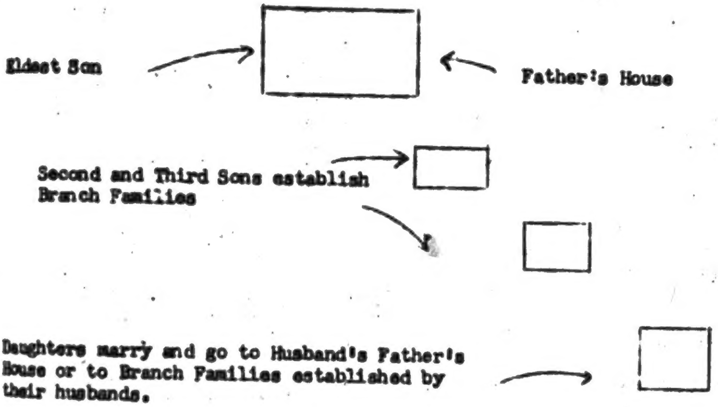


All of the families, except those designated with the numeral 1, are branch families of the extended family. Family #7, is a branch family of a branch family. Family #5 (itself a branch) is the main family of Family #7 as far as the immediate descendants in Family #7 are concerned.

In the following illustration, the second son has established a branch family of Family #7, while the head's own son will inherit the main house, leaving his second son to establish a branch. Family #7 is a branch of a branch, but with relation to succeeding houses in the direct line, it is a main family.

613
596


7
A, head of Family #7
Second Son of A
7
Eldest Son of A, head of #7
7
Grandson of A, head of #7
First son of second son of A


Eldest Son
Father's House
Second and Third Sons establish Branch Families
Daughters marry and go to Husband's Father's House or to Branch Families established by their husbands.

[591]

The family system, through the succession of the first son to his father's house, prevents the extinction of the main family line, and at the same time creates branch families with close ties with the parent family. [611]

Lacking a son, adoption (to be discussed below) is available to provide against extinction of any family, but in Okinawan villages it has seldom been necessary to use it. [597]

The emphasis in the family system is on providing for the eldest son who succeeds to the father's estate. The sons other than the first must be prepared to accept little or nothing, in the case of the very poor, when they marry and separate themselves from the parental house. [428]

In these Okinawan villages, the second and succeeding sons (or younger brothers if the head of the house is the eldest brother) remain in the family until marriage, usually around 25. They do not live in separate houses, but may have separate rooms, or a small shack in the compound for sleeping purposes. Unless they live in another town or work 593 [582] [513]

593 in a military installation which keeps them away from their homes, they
remain there, helping in the fields, or go out on the fishing boats, as
[582] the case may be. If a son other than the first remains in the family
after the age of marriage, it is generally for some physical or mental
disability. Under the normal operation of the family system, there is
591 no time in a person's life in which he is not part of some family unit
and living in the same house with his parents, an elder brother, or
with a wife and his children, or with his grandchildren.

727 The war enforced many exceptions to this normal life cycle, as the
593 discussion of the previous table brought out: conscription and military
service, deaths in battle or as a consequence of the campaign, widowhood
and the orphaning of children. In the villages studied, the postwar
situation was not disrupting family life further by the movement of
younger unattached men to Naha or the larger towns, or by their separati
from daily life while doing work for military camps. At least it was not
sufficiently frequent to result in a deterioration of normal family life.
591 In these villages branch families were established for the most part
in the village of the parent family. There are two reasons for this:
first, the desire to remain near the parents and siblings, and second,
[423] that the property which the father, or elder brother, has at his disposal
is normally real property and land holdings in the village. Cash, which
agricultural or fishing family might have at its disposal, would usually
[435] be insufficient at present prices for a second or succeeding son to be
given money to purchase land and a house site elsewhere. Occasionally a
[425] father sells land in the village to provide his son with money to purchas
a house site and fields elsewhere, but this is not usual.

The mechanics of establishing a branch household may be illustrated
from practices observed in each of the villages, though the procedure is
essentially the same.

Hanashiro is a settlement in the center of a cultivated area of dry
[361] field farming and rice paddies. The cultivated area begins on the outer
rim of the village. The father, or the elder brother, gives a field
(*hatake* in Japanese) to the son, or younger brother, if it is suitable
for a house site. If the land owned is too far away--there are no
[425] isolated homesteads--an effort is made to exchange with a neighbor, fri
or relative, the far off property for a parcel closer in. If this is
not possible, the remote piece is sold and the proceeds used to purchase
a suitable plot in the residential area. If the family is too poor to
[426] give money or land, an attempt may be made to borrow the money for purchase.
If none of these arrangements is possible, the son may simply
start out on his own, or less commonly, may live with his wife in the
home of his parents, or delay his marriage. But it is uncommon for a
second or succeeding son and his wife and children to live in the house
of the parents or of the elder brother.

311 In this way, the residential area gradually replaces the cultivated
areas which surround it. One consequence of the establishment of branch
591 families in agricultural villages is that it gradually decreases the

arable land available for cultivation. House sites cannot be set up 311
on rocky or mountain land away from the village. Whether on the island 591
as a whole the increase in population, the repatriation and the
stoppage of large scale emigration will in the future seriously diminish
the amount of land available for agricultural uses is an interesting
question, but there certainly is a direct relationship between population [161]
growth and land taken up with house sites.[5] Not only will a growing
population enforce greater demands on the land, but it will inevitably
cut down on the amount.

Among the fishermen of Minatogawa, there is a little more fluidity 591
in the establishment of branch families. There are seldom enough lands
to subdivide, and only about 50% of the fishermen own land in addition 423
to their house site. The branch household is established according to
the son's taste, and the father may give money if he can afford it so
the son can set himself up in Itoman, Naha, or elsewhere. The usual [311]
procedure here is to give land in a former agricultural area of the
village, land which was developed in the southern part of the village as
a result of the destruction of the war in other parts. Here formerly
arable land was taken over directly for residential use.

In Matsuda, it is possible to use newly developed areas. This 591
community, unlike the other two, is a series of sub-settlements. In 361
two of these, branch families have settled, one near the seashore, and
the other on reclaimed forest land. In both of these areas, the pattern
of settlement is different; the clusters of houses give way to the
scattered houses, some standing out alone on the top of a knoll or hill,
some near the forested slopes of the hillside. In these areas, there is
an atmosphere of pioneer settlement. As in Hanashiro, the buying of near
land and the selling of far off land and exchange of land are practiced. [425]
Since the reclaimed area is considered to be less productive and less
desirable, the poorer families are able to purchase land here for their
second sons.

5

The Pivotal Importance of the First Son

The key person in the family system is the first son. He normally 593
succeeds to the house at the death or retirement of his father. The 596
father may not legally retire before 60. In rare cases--none were encoun-

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[5] In general, house and village sites are on arable land, but the quality of this land naturally varies from place to place. See any of the 11 sheets of the Okinawan Soils Map and the discussion in the Remarks column of the legend with reference to the types of soils on which village sites are found.

513 tered in the villages--a first son may be passed over in favor of a
second son because of mental disability, gross incompetence, or ex-
596 cessive drinking, or the father, by selling his land to his other
sons may in effect disinherit his first son. These actions involve
[428] the courts and it is rare for villagers to engage in litigation. In
practice, the first son almost invariably succeeds. On his marriage,
[691] the first son and his wife live in the home of his parents. There
are some exceptions to this. Since the war, some first sons in agri-
[464] cultural communities have found opportunities in business in Naha, in
larger towns like Itoman or Nago, in military government or in Okinawan
government positions. In this case, the first son does not live with his
parents, but he continues with this new work in the strange town, the
[591] parents on their retirement, or as they become more helpless, joining the
son. But in cases where the first son continues in the occupation of his
father, this is the usual and expected practice. Only long standing in-
compatability between father and son prevents such an arrangement.

593 One point regarding the future of the family system that may assume
464 importance in Okinawa is that the responsibilities of the first son in-
crease with any decline in opportunities for succeeding sons. The
166 traditional outlet for sons other than the first in Oriental countries
has been migration to the cities, to lands of new settlement, or emigra-
167 tion to foreign countries. In Okinawa, emigration to various parts of
the world, the South Seas, Hawaii, Peru, Brasil has been the most im-
portant of these outlets. Its history cannot be understood without
appreciating this fact. Both first and succeeding sons have emigrated.
With the virtual stoppage of emigration, the only solution for second
and succeeding sons would seem to lie in opportunities coming from
military installations, government work, industrial and urban development,
in addition to the present opportunities in agriculture. If with a
growing population, the family system begins to break apart, it will
probably be first noticed in the inability of the first sons to bear
increased responsibilities.

593 For this reason, it is interesting to record some observed atti-
tudes of first and other sons in the villages studied. These attitudes
596 are personal ones. No inter-village comparisons can be made. The first
is one of pride in being a first son and in assuming the headship of
the house but dislike of the responsibility of providing for siblings,
especially when the estate is not large. Dislike of the responsibilities
of being the first son was most observable in Minatogawa. Here the lack
of land, succession merely to a house site, a boat or fishing gear, but
with the same responsibility for care for younger brothers and sisters,
parents and grandparents put the clearest burden on the first son. The
financial burden of paying for anniversary celebrations on the death of
a relative is especially onerous. There is only minor help from younger
brothers. This fact is not resented as a lack of generosity of the
younger brothers who by now would have branch houses of their own; it is
part of the family system. Younger brothers might contribute, as one
first son jokingly said, fifty yen to a celebration that cost two
thousand.

Some villagers also pointed to the reluctance of young women to marry first sons. There were two reasons for this: the financial responsibilities of the first son, and the joint living with his parents. These young women had the attitude that the second or the third son enjoyed greater freedom. The position of the first son is more secure in an agricultural community, especially if the father has some means. The reluctance of some young women to marry first sons may be offset by marrying into a well established family and by the prestige that comes with such a marriage. One also encounters an attitude of indifference regarding one's position in the family hierarchy: no pride in being the first son and no feeling of resentment at being a second or succeeding one. 593 581

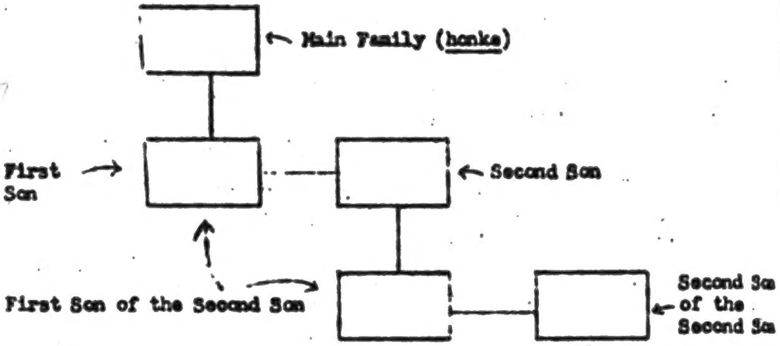
Among parents and grandparents, there is strong pride in a son. The birth of a son in early marriage and his survival simplifies the life of every individual in the family. It points to the desired succession, to care in old age and a normal family experience within the framework of the family system. 562

6

Adoption

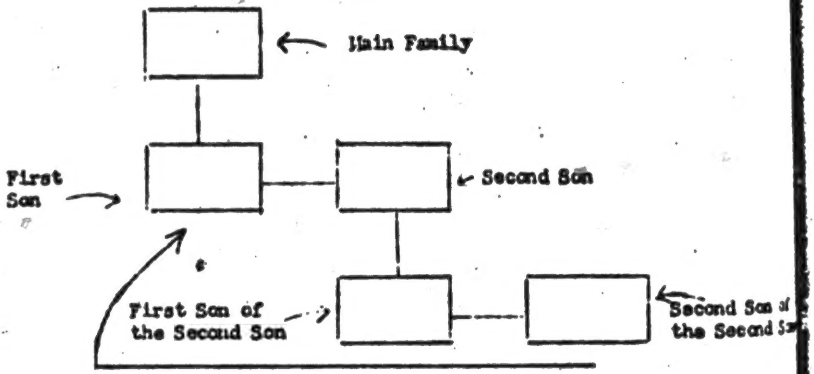
As in other Oriental countries, the emphasis placed on the first son, or one standing in his place, reflects the concern of the family for its continued existence. Extinction (danzetsu in Japanese) of the family must be avoided. Adoption is the traditional method of preventing extinction. While there are instances of adoption in all villages, it is not common, nor does it have the importance which is attached to it in Japan. 597

The need for adoption arises when a family does not have a male child to succeed to the father's house. Two types of adoption are recognized: the adoption of a male child or the adoption of the prospective husband of a daughter. No instance of the latter form was encountered in any of the villages. Unlike Japan, where an adopted child might be unrelated to the family, Okinawans, when they resort to adoption, always choose a relative in the male line, perhaps a nephew or a distant relative of the male head. The preferred alternatives are two: a first or second son of the brother of the head of the adopting house is taken, or a second son may be adopted by his uncle and will succeed to the main family line on the death of his uncle.


Main Family (honke)
First Son
Second Son
First Son of the Second Son
Second Son of the Second Son

First Alternative

The first son of the second son is adopted by his uncle, the first son of the original head.


Main Family
First Son
Second Son
First Son of the Second Son
Second Son of the Second Son

Second Alternative

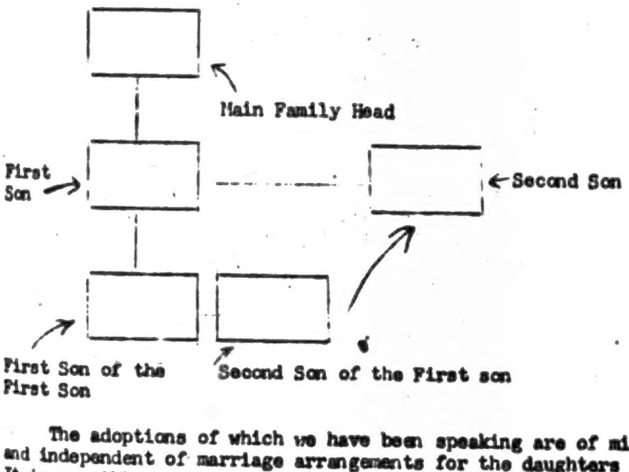
The second son is adopted by his uncle and succeeds to the main family line.

In view of the importance of the first son to the immediate family, it might appear contradictory that a first son would be adopted out. The answer is, I think, that it is more important to secure succession to the main family than it is to the branch family.

Since adoptions are so few, it is not possible to say which of these two mechanisms is most frequently used or to make distinctions among villages. Hanashiro informants said that the commonest practice is to adopt the second son of a brother. In Minatogawa, the same situation held, with the added statement that if the brother had only one son, that son would not be adopted by the uncle.

In Matsuda, informants mentioned most frequently the first method, that is the adoption of the first son of the second son to succeed to the family line. In either case, the continuity of both the main and the branch families is provided for.

Adoption may also work in the reverse situation, that is when there is no male heir to the branch family. This would be solved by adopting the second, but never the first son of the brother in direct line of succession:



The adoptions of which we have been speaking are of minor children and independent of marriage arrangements for the daughters of the family. It is possible to adopt a daughter's prospective husband and thus to provide both an heir to the house and a husband for the daughter.

This awkward device is out of keeping with the family system. It places a man in the position of a woman and violates the basic assumption that sons carry on the family of the father. This type of adoption is

597 known as groom-adoption (mukoyoshi in Japanese). No instances of this form of adoption were found in the villages. The husband-to-be is adopted into his wife's family and, at the same time, becomes successor to his wife's father's estate. The adopted man is placed in a similar position to a daughter to be married: he forsakes his own family, his name is taken off the family register of his father, and he becomes, like the bride in a normal situation, a member of his wife's family.

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[171] Common in Japan, this device is considered a humiliating position, both in Japan and in Okinawa,* for the bridegroom, since he puts himself in an unfavorable position regarding the women of the adopting family and leaves his own. Even though unused, reactions to this form of adoption are unreservedly negative in the villages. "It is very distasteful," said one man. "The boy deserts his own home and enters his wife's home." Occasionally however it probably will be used. There are a few families with five or six daughters and no sons. In one instance, a family with six daughters, the eldest of marriageable age, the parents were considering groom adoption.

597
171 In Okinawa unlike Japan, the maintenance of the family system is not contingent upon an elaborate and widely used system of adoption. This is one of the important distinctions to be made between Okinawan and Japanese culture, for in Japan adoption has been used by the royal family, in business and professional circles, as well as among the ordinary classes of people.

7

The "Growing Up" Parent

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855
734 There is also a special form of adoption in Okinawa. It is debatable whether it is directly concerned with the maintenance of the family system, or is a more general aspect of the culture and part of the care and rearing of children. This is known as yashineuya (in Okinawan), yashinaoya or morawako (in Japanese). It is not adoption, but an arrangement that is considered helpful for the survival of sickly children who, the parents feel, might not live to maturity. The verb, yashinau in Japanese means to rear, adopt, or support. It is also used in referring to raising animals.

[791]
[787] The first step is to consult a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese). Hanashiro people can go to nearby Gushichan; Minatogawans to Itoman or Naha, and the parents of Matsuda to Ginoza or to Nago to consult the

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* This situation has changed since the war. See The Japanese village in transition, as cited, 213.

fortune teller. The purpose of this visit is to discover who would be 597
a good adopting parent. The fortune teller advises the parents to select 608
a person born under the same year sign as the child. These year 855
signs roughly correspond to the signs of the zodiac. The twelve signs 734
with their Japanese equivalents are: rat (ne), ox (ushi), tiger (tora),
hare or rabbit (u), dragon (tatsu), snake (mi), horse (uma), sheep 787
hitsuji), monkey (saru), bird (tori), dog (inu), and hog or boar (i).
The year 1951 was the year of the hare; 1952 is the year of the dragon [805]
(tatsudoki).

The adopting or "growing up" parent is older, in multiples of 12, than the child. After consulting almanacs and other materials, the fortune teller advises the parents to find a person in the village born under the same year sign as the child. Prospective adopting parents are then sought out and the matter is discussed with them. Both parents may do this, but most often the discussions are carried on by the mother. When the selection is made, the child is "given" to the adopting parent, [782] and there are prayers before the Buddhist god shelf in the home of the adopting parent. [778]

Actually the child continues to live with its own parents, but makes [574] frequent visits to the home of the adopting parent. There are no stated intervals at which these visits are made, except for New Years and O-Bon. The adopting parent may on these visits give food and presents to the child.

The arrangement thus seems to be a form of sponsorship and guardianship without special responsibilities on the part of the adopting parent, to bring good health and long life to the child. It has only slight resemblances to the godfather and godmother in Christian countries who sponsor a child at his baptism and theoretically at least undertake to be responsible for his Christian training. But the sponsorship and guardianship features are somewhat similar.

Adoption of this type may be done in Okinawa by either sex. [887] Generally old women are the favorites and they may have many such adopted children. But old or older men may also assume this obligation. [184] This form of "growing up" adoption existed in all the villages studied in substantially the same form.

8

The Household Order Naming System

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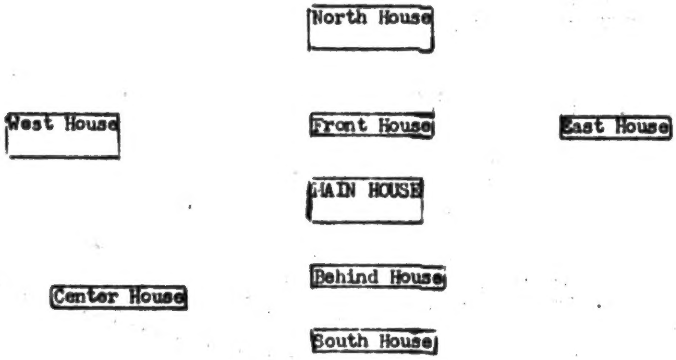
Families in a village have, in addition to their own surnames, secondary names by which individual families are known. This secondary 592 naming system is a device to distinguish related families with the same 613 surname from one another.

The secondary naming system is known as "the household order," or 000 yagō in Japanese. To introduce this discussion, it might be well to

000 state the idea in rough outline first so that it can be grasped immediately. Let us suppose that in an American small town of about 1000 people, there are 200 families, 75 of which are named Smith; another 75, Jones; 25, Brown; and 25 of assorted surnames of less frequency. These people are neighbors; they are an agricultural people; they have not had much education. It is difficult to remember everyone's surname and distinguish, when talking to others, one family from the other. So the 75 Smith families are given various designations, such as "the Milwaukee Smiths," "Smith, the barber," "the second son of the Milwaukee Smiths. The same is done with the Jones, the Browns, and the other families. These families then become known by their secondary names rather than by their Christian and surnames. A child, instead of being known as Bobbie Smith, would be the child of the Milwaukee Smiths. The parallel between this situation and the household order naming system is inexact, but the example conveys the general idea.

592 614 613 [193] The household order name given to any single family shows the place of this particular family in the hierarchy of the extended family. Families belonging to the same extended family have the same surname. But each has a different household order name to distinguish one from the other. In Minatogawa, for example, there are 53 families named Tamaki but each of these families has a distinct household order name. These names are built up in an agglutinative fashion by using a root word and then by adding prefixes and occasionally a suffix to show distinctions among families.

614 613 592 621 Historically, the household order system seems to have grown up as a result of the building of houses for branch families around or near the house of the original ancestor. In the following illustration, the house of the original founder of the family is shown in the middle. Perhaps his eldest younger brother, when he established a branch house, built his home in front of his brother's home and another younger brother built his home in back of the founder's house. These two houses would then become the "front" and the "behind" houses.



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[193]

The founder's first son remains in the main house. But his other sons and their sons take up positions to the north, south, east, or west: subsequent descendants might take up other positions. It is possible to relate any family in this manner to the head family. The prefixes (and one suffix) used in making the various designations are:

Japanese	Okinawan	English
mae-	me-	before, front
ushiro-	kushi-	after, behind
ue-	ui-	top
shita-	shicha-	bottom
higashi-	agari-	east
minami-	fe-	south
nishi-	iri-	west
kita-	nishi-	north
atarashii	mi- miya-	new
naka		center
	ufa-	big, great
	-gwa	diminutive, opposite of ufa, and a suffix.

Let us assume, to use an actual illustration from Hanashiro, that the household order name of a main house is Ganiku. This word has no known meaning; it may be a place name or some local landmark near the site of the original house established perhaps centuries ago. Other families in Hanashiro which are branch families of this main extended family would have the word Ganiku in their house order name with the addition of prefixes and suffixes to show that it was a branch family. There are 14 families in which the word Ganiku appears in the household order name. These are (in Okinawan):

1	Ganiku	The Main House
2	Nakaganiku	Center-
3	Kushiganiku	Behind-
4	Ganikugwa	Little Ganiku
5	Iriganiku	West-
6	Miganiku	New-
7	Miyameganiku	New front-
8	Nishiganiku	North-
9	Nishiganikugwa	Little north-
10	Iriganikugwa	Little west-
11	Meganikugwa	Little front-
12	Meiriganikugwa	Little front west-
13	Mimeganikugwa	Little new front-
14	Meganiku	Front-

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In this Hanashiro example, a man's real name might be Shoichi Shiroma, but he is known also as Iriganikugwa, the Little Western Ganiku family. All of his children, while in his family, have the same secondary name.

551 They are referred to as the son or daughter of the Little Western
592 Ganiku house. When the sons grow up, the first son retains the same
house order name, as he is perpetuating the house of his father. When
614 his younger brothers establish a branch household, they may add another
613 prefix and become known, for example, as the New Little Western Ganiku
family.

The manner in which the household order names may be applied to
592 successive generations is illustrated in the diagram which follows on th
next page. Three things should be pointed out about this diagram:
614

(1) There is no established order in the choice of branch family
613 designations. In column five, for example, the prefix iri for west was
chosen. Any other direction could have been selected if it were not
already taken. Subsequent directions or space relations taken might
be east, west, south, front, behind, etc. In this illustration, the
order of relationship to the main family is (a) Little Fukuji, column 2,
and New Little Fukuji to show the branch family of a branch family.
Succeeding branches are then indicated by repeating the previous pre-
[193] fixes and adding one more. Fukuji plus gwa (little), plus mi (new),
plus agari (east), then substituting iri (west), to be alternated with
other directional terms such as fe (south) for iri in column 6.

(2) Some branch families are of great antiquity, such as the Fukujigwa.

[602] (3) All these people are related but it is difficult to determine
the precise relationship. It is easy to see that without an exhaustive
and well kept up genealogy, even in this simplified diagram, the relationship of the last individual in the first column to his contemporary, the last individual in column 6 would be difficult to trace. This is one reason that, in all the communities, people know they are relatives but do not know the precise relationship.

On the other hand, the household order system, much more than given and surnames, is a very easy device for keeping general family relationships in mind, especially when these spread over several villages. At least the Okinawans find it so. A person with the house order name of Miagarifukujigwa would know the general relationship in the extended family of his line to the main and other branch houses, whether these were located in his own or in another village.

There are additional refinements of the household order naming
system. Other prefixes denoting the rank order of sons may be added,
[193] as indeed they must if the family is old and has many generations. The
root word in the household order name may occasionally be identical
with the surname. Some household order names may also depart from this
pattern and be descriptive of previous occupations in the family history.
These points are illustrated from the household order names of some

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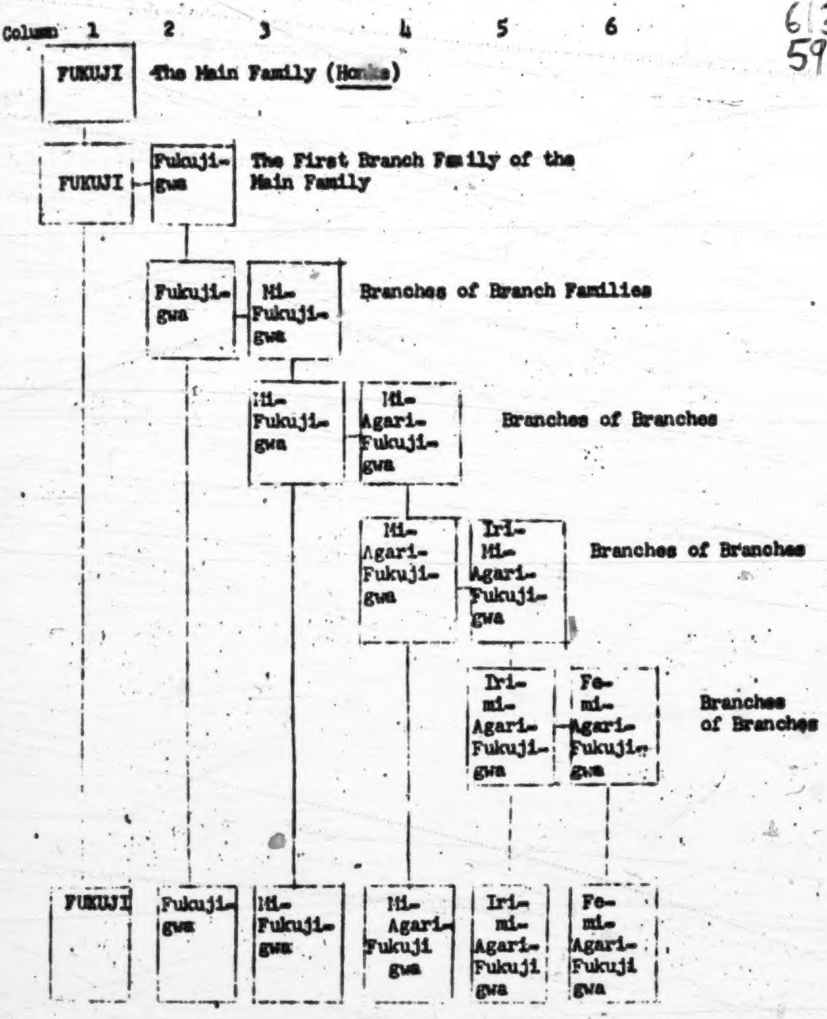
FOUNDING DATE SOMETIME IN THE PAST


Column 1 2 3 4 5 6
FUKUJI
The Main Family (Honke)
FUKUJI
Fukuji-gwa
The First Branch Family of the Main Family
Fukuji-gwa
Mi-Fukuji-gwa
Branches of Branch Families
Mi-Fukuji-gwa
Mi-Agari-Fukuji-gwa
Branches of Branches
Mi-Agari-Fukuji-gwa
Iri-Mi-Agari-Fukuji-gwa
Branches of Branches
Iri-mi-Agari-Fukuji-gwa
Fe-mi-Agari-Fukuji-gwa
Branches of Branches
FUKUJI
Fukuji-gwa
Mi-Fukuji-gwa
Mi-Agari-Fukuji gwa
Iri-mi-Agari-Fukuji gwa
Fe-mi-Agari-Fukuji gwa

THE PRESENT

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Minatogawa families:

1 *Jinaniritamagusuku.* Second Son Western Tamagusuku, for the name Tamashiro Bunkichi. Here the surname and the root word in the household order name are the same because Tamagusuku is the Okinawan equivalent of Tamashiro, *gusuku* being the Okinawan and *shiro* the Japanese reading of *castle*.

2 *Gonanfugoshi*. Fifth Son, Fugoshi. Actual surname is *Uehara*.

3 *Yonanagariakaigwa*. Fourth Son Little Eastern *Akai*, actual surname, *Kanashiro*.

[193]

4 *Ufuyagwa*. This illustrates the use of the prefix *ufu* (ufa) meaning great or big, to show the main house and *the* suffix, *gwa*, meaning little, indicating it is a branch family. The actual surname is *Tamashiro*.

5 *Jinanufuguchigwa*. Second Son of Little Great Ouchi, actual surname, *Tamashiro*.

6 *Inaminegwa*, Little Inamine. Actual surname, *Inamine*.

7 *Sannantarunagaminegwa*. Third Son of Little *Taru Nagamine*. Actual full name, *Nagamine Tarō*, the Japanese equivalent of *Nagamine*, *Taru*.

8 *Danpachiya*. The House of the Barber. Actual surname is Oshiro. The Okinawan word for barber is *danpachi*.

9 *Asato*. A household order name based on a place name. Asato is a village in this township. Meaning is The House of Asato, actual name, *Asato Shinkichi*.

Some of the household order names are occupational in character, such as the barber in the above list. According to Minatogawa informants, there was also a navel household order name. Navel is *hesso* in Japanese, *tembusu* in Okinawan. If a person had a *conspicuously large* navel, the house was named after him and became *Tembuya*, House of the Navel, although it is not clear whether this was *a hereditary* household order name or merely a temporary one, more resembling an individual nickname. The occupational household order names apparently were both temporary and hereditary. For example, the household order name, *Nakama*, a surname, might have the prefix *kajira* (Japanese) or *kanja* (Okinawan) meaning blacksmith, for one son, and *Danpachiya Nakama*, Barber Nakama, to distinguish by occupation one son from another.

There are instances, but not in the villages studied, of household order names following the name of the official position of an ancestor. Descendants, for example, of the first head man (*kuchō* in Japanese) of a village might, if their surname were *Moromizato*, add the word *kuchō* making *Kuchōmoromizato*, Family of the *Head Man* Moromizato. These however

seem to be either supplementary names or household order names held 614
during one's lifetime only, but in some instances became hereditary. 613
Household order names taken from places seem to have become hereditary, 592
if present lists of these names are fair indications. Even today if
an American should settle in a village in Okinawa, he would probably
be given a household order name and be known by this name outside the [609]
circle of friends and acquaintances who knew his surname. Such a
house name would be something like *Amerikaya*, House of America. *Ya*
means house or abode. The American's presence would be well known;
his name, too difficult to pronounce and to remember, would be forgotten
even if ever learned, and he would be the house of the man
from America.

Each family in a village has this secondary name whether it is in the main or a branch family line. In Minatogawa, some exceptions were found to this, but it is not quite clear what interpretation to put upon them. In this village there were many individuals--mostly single persons living by themselves--who did not have a household order name. Of the 213 households, 20 either did not have such a secondary name, or it was not known to them nor to the residents of Minatogawa. Of these at least 8 were females.

Household order names do not appear in the official family regis- [217]
ters (*koseki*) maintained in the village office (*yakuba*). Historically,
the household order name apparently preceded the giving of first and 551
surnames. In villages the mass of people were not known by their full 592
names. They were designated in the fashion already described. Even
up to the beginning of the war, often only important and conspicuous 184
people, such as officials and school teachers, were known by their
given and surnames (*seimei*); the rest were known by their household 614
order name. 613

Of all the villages studied, the household order name seemed to be of greatest living importance in Hanashiro. This naming system is used only in contacts within the village. In contacts with the outside, in schools, and in official dealings, a person's full name is used. Young children, from about ten on, know families by their household order name, and one can inquire for a family by asking either for the surname or the household order name. There were instances in all villages, confined however to the old, of people knowing individuals only by their household order name. According to informants here, a person's household order name is still better known than the given and the surname. Residents are often called for village, community, and official duties by their secondary family names. Here the double naming system, one for contacts within the village, the other for the outside is still strong.

A similar situation existed in Minatogawa. The household order system here might be expected to persist longer, at least for use within the village because of the high frequency of a few surnames. The same ability of young children to know household order names of

551 their own and of other families was also noticeable.[6] Often the two
592 were used interchangeably. From an individual point of view, and this
184 is true of all the villages, the household order name is still impor-
tant because it is an indication of relationships to dead relatives
614 whose names are on the family tablets, and to relationships, at least
613 in general, to other families of the same main family in the village or
in other villages and towns.

In Matsuda, the household order naming system seems to be dying
[178] out more rapidly than in the other communities. Children here did not
know the secondary names so well, and some young people did not know
their own. As in Hanashiro, up to the beginning of the war, families were called together for village duties by their household order name, but this practice has been abandoned since the war. Given and surnames are now used. The household order name is still occasionally used on letters to indicate the exact person desired, another indication of the distinctions needed in the confusion of identical surnames.

It is probable that the household order naming system will de-
cline in importance because the growth and universality of education
[178] and the constant need for using given and surnames have weakened the
hold of the old. As the present old people die off, many of whom know the household order name only, every segment of the population will be accustomed to the use of given and surnames.

9

Conclusion

602 The family system binds one generation to another, and, even more, gives unity to the past, present, and future of the family. It involves a well defined system of rights and obligations. It is a conservative institution in which the rights of individuals are subordinated to the welfare of the group.

602 The conservative nature of the family system in other Oriental
171 cultures, especially when combined, as in old China with a Confucian
ethic and ancestor worship, has often been emphasized. But Confucianism, ancestor worship, and the family system are three different things.

[6] I tested this in all communities by asking for directions to family houses using the family's yagō. Its present vitality is shown by the fact that in Hanashiro a native of the village and a member of the township council was able to list all the 121 yagō's without hesitation. The clerk of Minatogawa village did the same. There was not an opportunity of getting the detailed lists of the Matsuda household order names, but samplings were made.

In Japan, as well as in Okinawa, the system has been maintained without the ultra-conservative duties and regulations and the severe subordination of women associated with Confucianism in its political and social aspects. This is true at least for late nineteenth and twentieth century Okinawa, though some Confucian survivals no doubt persist. 602 171

But the family system is also an admirably flexible institution. It need not depend for its survival on a Confucian ethic, the subordination of women, or on the arranged marriage. It does require a continuing reverence for the dead and care to insure the existence of generations to come. There is room for free choice in marriage within the general framework of the family system. [769] [582] There is in the family system a sense of belonging from early infancy to death, a sense of identity with the past as well as sharing in the future, an emotional security, free participation of the old in village life, mutual reinforcements coming from the performances of these obligations. These are striking characteristics of Okinawan village life. It is true that the family system in Japan has been unable to avoid many deep lying insecurities and conflicts. But in Japan there have been in recent times strong competitive situations along with the harnessing of the nation's energies to war. In Okinawa, these conditions have been lacking, at least in an intense form, until the Okinawans were in the midst of the fierce fighting of the war. The sense of security and of belonging is unmistakable in the great majority of villagers, and while this does not mean there is no dissension or that everything is serene, it does mean that the system as it has developed here has permitted a certain personal flexibility and freedom within the system. [156] The culture also has not encouraged strong individual competition.

The family system, with its obligations and duties, both in the individual and the extended families, is the key to an understanding, not only of the non-material, but much of the material culture as well. 602 182 The social organization as it has developed within the family system has strong influences through inheritance on land tenure and land use, and on agriculture and other occupations, in addition to its influences on daily family living, religious observances, public recreation and holidays. These will be explored in the chapters to come.

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CHAPTER VII

INHERITANCE AND SUCCESSION

1 The Family System, Inheritance and Succession

2 Essentials of the Inheritance System

3 Mechanics of Land Division

1

The Family System, Inheritance, and Succession

The family system is distinct from the inheritance of property. 602
But in the succession of the first son to the house and in the estab- 428
lishment of branch families, the operation of the family system shows
its effects on the practices involved in the inheritance of land and [182]
other property.

The family system can, and actually has operated in Okinawa independently of a system of private ownership in land, and, at present [423] its obligations are as strong on a landless villager as on one who has many fields or other property. Succession in the family system is succession to a series of rights and duties and responsibilities, much watered down, it is true, from what they once were. These rights and duties may involve the disposition of rice fields, a house site, or personal and movable property, such as the majority of Minatogawa fishermen possess in a boat, nets, hooks, and other fishing equipment.

Since agriculture and the employment of land are fundamental to 428
the life and economy of Okinawan villages, practices involving the inheritance of land should receive the greatest emphasis. In this chapter, land is considered in a general way, reserving for the following chapter a detailed analysis of types and grades of land based on the Okinawan township system of land classification.

Since the first son and his succession to the house are so important
to the continuity of the family, one might expect outright primogeniture
in inheritance of real property. Such is not the case. The present
system of inheritance of property was defined in Japanese law which pro-
vided for inheritance by sons other than the first and by daughters as [421]
well. This is based on Japanese law as it stood prior to the passage [177]
and promulgation of the Japanese land reform law of October 1946 and
prior to the post-war revisions of the Japanese Civil Code.[1]

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[1] In this and in the following chapters, words in parentheses are, unless otherwise designated, Japanese equivalents of English terms. For an interesting historical discussion of the concepts of *katoku-sōzoku* (succession to house headship) and *isan sōzoku* (succession to [113]
property), see Hozumi, Nobushige, *Ancestor worship and Japanese law*. Third and revised edition, Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto, 1913, 170-87, esp. 181-82. Hozumi notes that in old Chinese history, *katoku* (house authority) was used as a synonym for eldest son, 172-73. On the Japanese reforms following the war, see Arthur F. Raper et al., The Japanese village in transition, (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Natural Resources Section Report No. 136), Tokyo, 1950, 161-70, 258-61, and Laurence I. Hewes Jr., Japanese Land Reform Program (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. Natural Resources Section Report No. 127), Tokyo, 1950, 9-36.

428 592 There is a distinction between succeeding to the headship of a house and inheriting property which the head of a house may possess. In the first case, the first son assumes the direction of the family; in the second, he receives property which will enable him to do this. This old distinction is still maintained.

[171] One of the striking differences between post-war Japan and its former province in the Ryukyus is that in the latter inheritance and succession were left untouched, while in Japan a thorough going revision of traditional laws and customs completely altered the system of inheritance and, in effect, abolished the operation of the family system in matters of land tenure and inheritance.[2]

428 In present day Okinawa, property, real or personal, may be passed from father to sons, or daughters, in the absence of sons, in two ways: by personal disposition of the property on his retirement, or by division of the property on the father's death. In either case, the function of inheritance in the culture is to insure, by a system of preferential inheritance in favor of the first son, or his successor, the maintenance of the family house on its site, of the family estate in land, and at the same time, to provide either during the father's lifetime or after his death, sufficient property given before or at marriage, to enable younger sons to establish branch houses. This property given to sons other than the first, includes a house site (yashiki, takuchi) arable dry land (hatak and the non-arable but highly useful genya land. These dispositions parallel the distinctions between a main family (honke) and its branch family (bunke).

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428 592

Parallels Between the Family System and Inheritance of Land

Family System	Inheritance
First son becomes head of the house on death or retirement of the father.	First son inherits the family house site and has preferential status in obtaining other parcels of land.
Second and other sons establish branch households on marriage.	Second and other sons receive from the father, or elder brother, a house site, a paddy field, dry crop land, or genya land, if available

The first son by remaining in the home of his parents keeps at least part of the family estate (zaisan) within the main family, with the hope that sufficient lands will be left over to insure the well-being of the branch families that spring from it.

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[2] For some Japanese reactions to the new system, see The Japanese village in transition, as cited, 211-12.

Daughters are not considered in inheritance matters if there are 428
male heirs. A daughter's share of family possessions normally comes [562]
to her as a marriage present: a kimono, a chest, a mirror, a pillow, [583]
and a quilt-like blanket (futon), and other personal articles, or
money, depending on the economic abilities of the father. In the absence of male heirs, women (either as wives or daughters) can and do
inherit the house and property. In a family without sons, the head has
several alternatives: he may allow the daughter to inherit, or adopt a [597]
bridegroom for his own house, the first distasteful to the father because there is no one to continue the family line, the second distasteful to the groom who must desert his own family. A third alternative is to adopt a young male child of a relative.

The passing down of property in these villages is governed in large part also by custom and the individual desire of the parents. In the
villages, there were no instances of which I knew in which disputes over [692]
inheritance and the disposition of property had been carried to court
for settlement. Quarrels among a father and his sons or the first sons [578]
and his younger brothers are said to be rather common. Much depends on the temperament and the generosity of the first son who controls the property on the death or retirement of his father. The problem was often put in this way: the first son must look after his younger brothers and give them land, but he must also keep his eye on the estate.he will be able to pass down to his own children.

2

Essentials of the Inheritance System.

The essentials of the inheritance system, as it was found to be working in these villages, were substantially the same. (1) In the division of property on the death or retirement of the father (or the head of the house), the house site itself is never divided. The family residence, the buildings in the compound remain intact. The house is a symbol of a family's existence and its future. If it is also the main house of the extended family, it is the site of the original founder and is even more inviolate.

An interesting question arises when the first sons are male twins. An old practice, now abandoned, was that the second of the twins inherited as the first son. This was based on a belief that the last child out of the womb was the first one in, and therefore the older. In the villages, one still hears this explanation from older people, but now the universal practice is for the first born to become the first son.

(2) The rest of the property is divided, in varying proportions, among the remaining sons. The first son gets the money, but he is expected to share this. He normally gets at least half the property, the remaining half being divided up among the other sons, either in the

428 form of fields or of house sites so they may establish branch families.

(3) The inheritance and the division of land cannot be considered abstractly. It is in this area that custom and individual desire have the greatest play. A village farmer does not simply have land. Normally he has a series of scattered land holdings, varying in area, type, and productivity. A farmer does not have a compact area of rice or sweet potato land which can be easily subdivided, but a few small rice plots, [311] of varying grade, some fields for growing sugar cane, sweet potatoes, or vegetables--also of varying grades--and parcels of genya land from which he gets firewood, grass for his thatched roof, or feed for his animals. When speaking of inheritance and division of land, one should think in concrete terms of the various types and grades of land subject to disposition. Under these circumstances, it is meaningless to say that an Okinawan farmer has an average of so many acres of land unless we are prepared also to add its category of productivity or use. The mechanics of land division are therefore directly related to land use and to the fragmentation of land.

(4) There is a tendency to give the second and other sons the scattered holdings and to subdivide these parcels if they are large enough, preserving the land closer to the house site or parcels that adjoin one another for the head of the house.

(5) Generally speaking, the first son does not subdivide a specific parcel of land with his brothers. He will take a whole piece as his own, leaving other parcels to be subdivided among his brothers.

425 (6) Inherited land can be sold, but the customarily approved reasons for doing so are few. This applies with special force to the holdings of the first son. Property can be disposed of without the sale being considered dishonorable when it is associated with a change of occupation involving moving to another place, or with acute economic distress. A man who decides to give up farming and to move his family to the city may sell his land; a man who is physically unable to work his land and has no children of sufficient age to help him may sell his land and set up a village store; a widow with minor children, already in debt, may sell her property. Sellers consult with the members of the extended family who live in the same or in nearby villages and only sell with the consent and advice of these relatives. This is conspicuously true of widows.

592 (7) If the first son dies without issue, he is replaced by the second son who becomes head of a house. If the first son is in a foreign country, the second son at home lives in the house, but this does not endanger the succession rights of the first son abroad. If the first son returns, he succeeds to his house, and the second or other sons living in the house will be obliged to set up a branch family. Occasionally, a second son remains in the main family, even though he cannot succeed to the house; this is during the minority of a deceased elder brother's first son who will take over the house when he is of age.

(8) Inheritance practices tend toward a slow but continuous fragmentation of land due to the need of establishing branch households. This tendency toward fragmentation is seldom overcome by reversing the process in favor of some form of land consolidation. The major obstacles to consolidation will be dealt with in the next chapter. Fragmentation is more likely to occur in the holdings of the more well-to-do who have property to divide. Among the very poor, whose holdings are small and scattered, there is an enforced primogeniture. It is not possible to divide land indefinitely. The smaller a piece of land, the more likely it will be surrounded by land owned by others, and these isolated islands are difficult either to sell or trade. 428 423 [565]

(9) Among the fishermen of Minatogawa, practices applied to real, personal, and movable property, are similar to those of the agricultural villages (nōson). Here the influence of the family system is more on the disposition of personal than of real property, but the effects, if not the rewards, are similar. If a fisherman has dry crop fields--there is no rice land--the elder son receives all, or most of the land. All informants stressed the weight of the individual desire of the father, whose division of property is influenced by the spirit, sobriety, and dependability of his sons. Here there is also the same social disapproval of selling inherited land. The fishermen attempt to supply second sons with small boats, nets, hooks, and other gear, just as the farmer attempts to give land, domestic animals, and agricultural tools. With the very poor, second and third sons may have to be content with nothing or with a few articles of clothing. Among those fishermen who have land, the principle is established that the first son gets the greater part, if not all, of the real property. 428 423 422 [425]

3

Mechanics of Land Division

Ownership is scattered; individuals own different types of land in varying proportions and in varying grades within types. Plots of land are small in area. Rice plots are normally the smallest, followed in general in ascending order by dry crop fields, and the wild land (genya). It is from such conditions as these that the difficulties in fairness of division arise. 423 311

The following illustrations show the manner in which division is usually carried out. Let us for simplicity first assume four parcels of land:

#1, a house site
#2, a parcel of 700 tsubo third grade dry crop land (hatake)
#3, 500 tsubo of grade one dry crop land, inconvenient and far away from the home, and
#4, 1000 tsubo of grade two hatake.

428 A possible distribution is shown in the following diagram. (Fig. 1). In this arrangement, the first son gets the house site and parcel #4. The second son gets 600 *tsubo* of the 700 *tsubo* in parcel #2. The third son gets 600 *tsubo* in two different places, 100 from parcel #2 and all of parcel #3.

423 311 Now let us take a more complicated situation, one that more closely parallels an actual division. The land of the head of the house is distributed in the following plots:

#1 19 *tsubo* of first grade rice land. This is a minute holding, roughly equivalent to a rectangle 20' x 34'. The fact that it is first class paddy and very small indicates that it is a rice seed bed (*naidoko*).

#2, 3, 4 are parcels of rice land, second grade, of 150 *tsubo* each.

#5 A plot of 3d grade rice land, 300 *tsubo*.

#6 A plot of 150 *tsubo* of dry farm land (*hatake*). This is first grade, but far from the house and in a different area from other family holdings.

#7 One plot of 2d grade dry farm land, 350 *tsubo* of medium quality but close in.

#8 A plot of 500 *tsubo* of dry farm land, 4th grade, hence rather poor, but close to the house.

#9 A plot of 400 *tsubo* dry farm land, 5th grade and barely usable for cultivation, almost like *genya* land.

428 423 The possible distribution is shown in Fig. 2. In this arrangement, the first son gets the house site, the seed bed (#1) and the three nearby rice fields (#2,3,4), the 500 *tsubo* of 4th grade dry crop land (#8), and the 350 *tsubo* of grade 2 dry crop land (#7). The second son receives 150 *tsubo* of rice land through the subdivision of plot #5, 150 *tsubo* of first grade dry crop land (#6), and one-half of the 400 *tsubo* of fifth grade dry crop land (#9). The third son gets the second half of the rice plot (#5), and the second half of the dry crop land (#9).

Summarized, the totals are:

	Total Tsubo*	Rice (*Ta*)	Dry Crop Land (*Hatake*)
Total	2169	769	1400
First Son	1319	469	850
Second Son	500	150	350
Third Son	350	150	200

[809] * A tsubo is about four square yards

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MECHANICS OF LAND DIVISION

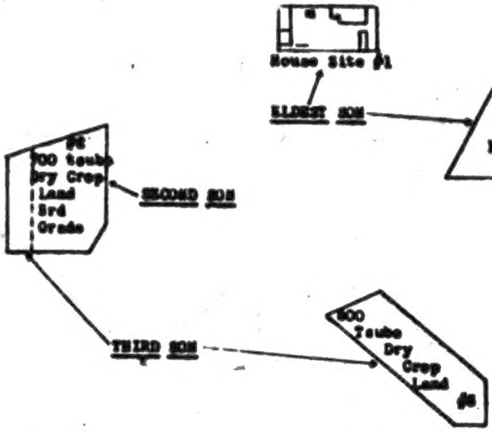
House Site #1
ELDEST SON
#4 Dry crop land
Grade 2
1000 tsubo
#2
700 tsubo
Dry Crop
Land
3rd
Grade
SECOND SON
THIRD SON
500
Tsubo
Dry
Crop
Land
#8

Fig. 1

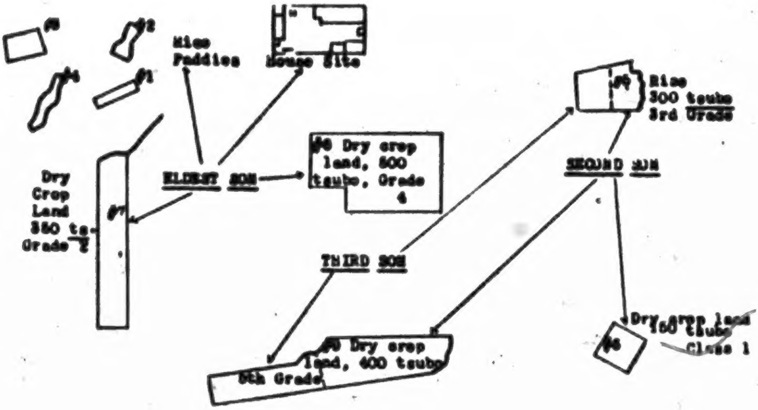
#3
#2
Rice
Paddies
House Site
#4
#1
#5 Rice
300 tsubo
3rd Grade
Dry
Crop
Land
350 ts-
Grade 2
#7
ELDEST SON
#6 Dry crop
land, 500
tsubo, Grade
4
SECOND SON
THIRD SON
#0 Dry crop
land, 400 tsubo
5th Grade
Dry crop land
150 tsubo
Class 1
#8

Fig. 2

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In this illustration, the first son receives slightly over 60% of the land, ignoring type and grade within type. There was general agreement [242] in all villages that the grade of land within each classification (grades 1 to 4 in dry crop land, for example) had little significance in inheritance matters. [651] The grade is more important for tax purposes.

The example also illustrates two other principles: the natural desire to keep contiguous or close in land within the main family, using inconvenient or far off land where possible for house sites for branch families, or for arable land for second and other sons. In this illustration, the shares of the second and of the third sons could be equalized by subdividing plot #6, although its small area would not make it worth while, as 75 tsubo is a very low average size for dry crop land. [241]

Another practice, noted in Hanashiro and in Matsuda, is that the first son receives everything on the retirement of the father. This may be contrasted with a situation in which the father divides the property before younger sons marry and establish branch families. In such cases, the father might take the income from part of the property. But the more general practice is for the father to give all to the first son. Fathers may also make a will. When the first son receives all, it is the custom for him to hold property which the younger sons will need in establishing their branch families. It is in cases where the first son is given full disposition of the property that quarrels [593] are most likely to occur, for much depends on the generosity and sense of fairness of the elder brother.[3]

In Hanashiro and Minatogawa, it is important that younger brothers 423 receive genya land. Genya is often translated as wild land. 134 In Japan the term is usually used to describe treeless, waste, hilly, rocky, or rolling land unsuitable for cultivation. In Okinawa, the genya land may be in the center of a rice field; it may be a rocky mound with cultivation around it. It may be land in the mountains. It is almost invariably in grass (miscanthus) with an occasional cycad or scrub pine. [137] It is not owned in large tracts. In Hanashiro, the largest single parcel [423] is 4564 tsubo (3.77 acres), in Minatogawa 1333 (tsubo) (1.9 acres), and in Matsuda 6398 tsubo (5.28 acres), but these are far above the average. In Hanashiro it is important because grass is constantly needed for [824] thatched roofs and other uses. The importance of genya and its grass was well illustrated in Minatogawa after the typhoon, Ruth, of October [731] 13-14, 1951. These villagers own little land and many have no genya. [432] They were obliged to buy the grass to replace the roofs of many of the frailer houses which had been partially or completely destroyed by the typhoon. Genya is also used for family tombs. In Hanashiro, the genya [764]

[Text continues TOP of P. 133--Analyst]

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[3] The problem can be appreciated by analyzing the acreage areas of each classification of land and the grades within it, bearing in mind that the average farmer has hatake, genya, and often rice paddies. These statistics will be given in the following chapter.

In Hanashiro, The genya

423 134 [824] grass and shrub are essential as a substitute for firewood. In Matsuda with large areas of community owned forest, this genya is not so important to the individual family.

428 311 In considering the inheritance of land, it is essential to understand that a family needs different types of land. Not everyone has rice paddies, but parcels of dry crop land and genya in the south are necessary to existence.

428 593 If the practices of these three villages are indicative of the division of family holdings in general, the first son obtains between 50% and 60% of the land in addition to the house site. The remainder is divided, often equally, among the other sons. In the poorer families, if the sons are widely spaced, there may be enough left over for the second son, but when the third son reaches marriageable age, there may be nothing for him. Instances of this type were observed in the villages. One young farmer of Minatogawa, a third son, said he received nothing, and set out by himself, first through wages, and then through small purchases to acquire his present modest land holdings.

This discussion may suggest a greater rigidity in the system of inheritance than is actually the case. It may give the impression of a series of families headed by the first son with most of the property and with younger sons and their branch families struggling along on what land can be spared for them. There has been, for historical reasons, more fluidity than this. The large number of heads of families who themselves are not first sons indicates that many second to fifth sons as well as daughters ultimately come into control of a family estate.

There have been four main reasons for this. (1) Emigration of first sons before they became of age. They left to earn a living in foreign countries to support their parents in the villages, became established and postponed to an indefinite future their return to Okinawa. Since the end of the war, according to relatives who are living in the village, many of these have no intention of ever returning except to visit. (2) Deaths of first sons without issue, and the succession of other sons or daughters. (3) Heavy war losses, especially of males. Some of these naturally were first sons, opening the way for the succession of young widows or second sons in the case of the unmarried first sons. (4) Deaths from catastrophes like typhoons, and in the case of Minatogawa, the losses of fishermen at sea.

428 602 182 Inheritance practices with private ownership of land follow logically from the family system. They are a means of providing the economic base by saving the estate for future generations, at the same time providing where possible for sons not in the direct line of succession. Inheritance is a connecting link between the family system and land use and land tenure. Present land use and land tenure are an interesting example of the modifications that a system of social organization, the family system, has made on the natural environment.

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CHAPTER VIII

LAND TENURE AND LAND USE

1 The Old Land Allotment System

2 Present Land Tenure and Land Classification

3 Care and Conservation of Land

4 Fragmentation and Consolidation

5 Conclusion

1

The Old Land Allotment System

Okinawa became part of a province of Japan in 1879 and in the laws of 1899-1903 fundamental changes were introduced in the land laws. Present land use and tenure is a result of (1) the family system with the original influence from China, with Japanese and Okinawan modifications, and (2) the Japanese system of inheritance, as outlined in the old civil code. 175 423 [177]

Prior to the Japanese reforms of 1899-1903, which introduced private ownership and private disposition of land, arable land in Okinawa was communally owned by a village and periodically redistributed to villagers for their use. This was known as the allotment system (jiwari-seido).

Until 1899, the arable land was owned by the village. Peasants had the right of cultivation, but not of ownership. Land was redistributed by village elders at stated intervals. These apparently varied among villages, as intervals of two, four, and ten years for the periodic redistribution have been mentioned by old men who, as youths, lived under the old allotment system. In the Gushichan area, according to one old man, this redistribution took place every ten years. It was found that there was much more awareness of the old land allotment system in the northern village of Matsuda than in the southern villages studied. [184]

In each redistribution, every living member of the family, from the newest born infant to the oldest person, was given a share. Apparently there were also local variations in determining each share. In the Gushichan area, according to the same old man, allotments were made according to the strength and competence of individuals. A distinction was made between a full grown male and a woman or a child, and there were differentials between the rich and the poor. The head of the house in practice received and controlled the shares of his family. There are no parallel data for Matsuda on this point. At each redistribution, additions or deductions in shares were made for births or deaths, though there is some doubt that this practice was universal. Matsuda old men mentioned this, and the Gushichan informants said the practice was not followed here; presumably a family share prevailed.[1] [184]

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[1] This discussion is confined to the two agricultural areas studied. Conditions apparently were the same for a whole township; since the areas are now roughly the same as they were, Hanashiro as part of the Gushichan township would have the same conditions. No information was available in the fishing village of Minatogawa. The very old here had only a vague memory of the old system. "Until 1899-1903, when the Land Reform Law was enacted, land was owned communally by the village, which divided the land among peasants at regular (contd. on next page)

175 Under this old system, when a branch family was established upon
423 the marriage of a son other than the first, his share was made available
592 to him, although it is not clear whether he received this as a legal
right, or whether, at each redistribution the father received the branch
family share, later passing it on for the use of the son. In any case,
provision under the old system was made for branch families in the redistribution just as in contemporary Okinawa this land is supplied, when
possible, out of the private holdings of the father. The old and the
new illustrate the operation of the family system under two types of
land tenure.

175 Both in the Gushichan area and in Matsuda, there was agreement that
423 the system applied only to rice lands and to dry crop land. House sites
311 were not included in the biennial, quadrennial, or decennial redistribution. Neither were the parcels of genya land which were reserved for
tomb areas (bochi, or haka). The forest lands (sanrin) or the genya
lands were also communally owned. The reclamation or much of genya
land in Okinawa for agricultural uses seems to be a late development,
probably a direct consequence of the increase of the island's population. Fifty years ago the island of Okinawa was more heavily forested
than it is now. This applies even to the south, if the statements of
old people resident in the area can be accepted. Both in the northern
and southern communities, pine stands in the forest and in the genya
land were publicly owned, and there was a system of tree allotment. Trees,
in the publicly owned areas, could be cut according to the number of
[313] shares of land one had. Then in September and October of each year,
each family replanted a number of trees equivalent to the number it had
taken.

In these redistributions, apparently the land was not allotted
to individual families directly, but first allotted to family groups
(kumi) and then in turn to the individual families. There were special
[571] allotment groups (jiwari-gumi). It is not clear whether this initial
distribution to groups and then to individual families was universal
in Okinawa, as this information comes only from Gushichan township.

This system of community ownership, with periodic allotment of rice and dry crop land, naturally called for a system of land classification. Excellent land was rare; good land was not plentiful, poor land was most abundant. The topography was rough and all good land was not in the same

1 (continued from previous page) intervals, the amount in proportion to the number of family members and their work and tax-paying capacities. It was called ji-wari (land-division). Peasants had no right to possess land, but only the right to cultivate, and taxes were imposed upon a village as a whole, not upon individuals." Higa, Shunchō. Structure of the Ryukyuan rural community. The Japanese journal of ethnology, 15 (1950), No. 2, 63-66. English summary (from which this is taken), p. 151.

place. Then, as now, paddy and dry crop land might lie together, depending 175
upon local factors. In the periodic redistribution, each 423
family received shares of each in non-contiguous fragmented parcels. 311
In the nature of things, they received small shares of the excellent,
moderate shares of the good, and large holdings in poor land.

The old classification of lands was simple and did not go beyond 175
three general divisions of good, fair, and poor. Apparently the Japanese 311
after 1879 introduced more refinements and increased the number of
classifications to six. Land classification, then as now, was empirical. [177]
It was based on observation, local knowledge of present and past yields,
and known dangers to the land. It was not based on scientific knowledge [242]
of the soils, nor is it today.

Several dangers to land and crops were considered: (1) the danger 175
of the wild boar (inoshishi). These reddish brown wild boars have disappeared 241
from large parts of Okinawa, though occasionally one is seen in [136]
the northern forest. The boars destroyed crops by night feeding. Remnants
of old fences can still be seen in the area around Matsuda. In [417]
Oku, in the extreme north, fences are still used and many can be seen
along the hillsides. (2) Dangers from floods and salt water spray.
Local flooding is common and often confined to a narrow area. Salt
water spray and salt water in the air, especially in typhoon times, are [731]
still menaces to crops. The danger from typhoons did not enter directly
into the determination of land classification because the area of destruction
was so wide that it was not a factor distinguishing one plot
from another. (One can however observe areas of differential damage
in a village as an aftermath of typhoons).

This old land allotment system is now forgotten except in a few 178
isolated areas where its main features are still apparently preserved.
The best known of these is Kudaka Island off the southeastern shore of 423
Okinawa. If the system has disappeared, except for a few isolated
survivals, its influence remains to the present: it determined the [189]
pattern of land use still in effect today, the pattern of small, discontinuous
parcels, and set the precedents for the mechanics of land
classification. The basic classifications such as rice land, dry crop
land, community forest were Japanese and are of great age. The old
land allotment system is also considered to be of great antiquity.[2] [177]

[2] It was a matter of considerable disappointment that I was unable to spend two or three weeks on Kudaka to study the land system there. Neither has time permitted an investigation (of great inherent interest) of the historical antecedants of the old Okinawan system. Land classification, such as we will be discussing in the next chapter, is very old in Japanese culture. The old Okinawan system bears some resemblances to the "mouth-share-land" (ku-bu-den) system of old Japan which appears in the Taihō code (702 A.D.). This was a system of distribution of communally owned land, but I have not been able to determine whether the distribution was periodic. See Wigmore, J. H. and Simmons, D. B. Notes on land tenure and local institutions in old Japan. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 19 (1891), 77 on land classification, (continued on next page)

175 423 Commodore Perry and his staff noted the land tenure system of the Great Lew Chew but did not get any details and were not quite certain what it was.

> "Another obstacle in the way of their improvement is the impossibility of their ever procuring a vested right of ownership in the land. As far as the Commodore could gather information on the subject, it would appear that the soil is held by the government, and its agents are employed to collect and consume its produce. According to the best accounts that could be obtained, the actual cultivator receives not more than two-tenths of the produce. Of the remainder, six-tenths go to the lord of the soil, or ruler, and two-tenths for the expense of supervision of the land, costs of collection, etc. The peasant has thus no stimulus to exertion. Wretched, however, as this system is, and degraded as is the condition of the operative, it is astonishing to see the large [433] returns from agricultural labor." These returns are attributed by the authors to a combination of skill, soil, and climate.[3]

Goldschmidt (1927) wrote that under the old system the land was the property of the villages and was divided by the elders of the villag "according to ancient precept," into equal parcels, considering its location, and that every individual received a parcel. "Large families had therefore correspondingly more parcels; daughters who married took at marriage their parcels with them. Every six years there was a new division, so that everyone received another plot of land and no one could complain, in the long run, over an unjust distribution."

[178] [423] [171] 2 (continued from previous page) 86 on communal ownership, 157 on mouth-share-land. The old Okinawan allotment system also is similar to the practice of masha' in the middle East. A village maintains its lands in common and apportions them among villagers periodically. This is found in parts of Iran, Jordan, Arab Palestine, and Syria. See Tannous, Affif I. Land tenure in the middle East. Foreign agriculture (U.S. Dept. of Agriculture), 7 (1943), 171-77.

[3] Elsewhere the narrative remarks that, "All the land in Lew Chew is held by government and rented to large tenants, who, in their turn, sub-let it to smaller ones, who are the direct cultivators of the soil." And in another place, it is said that the lands were held by the government as a "metayer system, brought down almost to individuals (or possibly upon an allotment system)." The metayer system, as described by Dr. Green, was a "plan of paying (in this instance as 'taxes') a certain proportion of the produce." Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 220; II, 25-26, 28. See also I, 311.

Goldschmidt then remarks that the peasant in the last years of his
possession thought only of the parcel to come in the next allotment and 175
did nothing for his land, and that in consequence its productivity fell. 423
There was private ownership at that time only of newly reclaimed land
or land filled in along the seashore, and this land went to the person
who had done the work. The Japanese, when they abolished the system,
divided land among families by number of members and since this time
large holdings have not been created. Goldschmidt adds that "the land
still suffers now from the consequences of this old system."[4]

To discover precisely the nature of the influences of the old
system cannot be done with accuracy because of the destruction of local 174
records, the vagueness of recollection among the old and of the inability 423
to reconstruct old boundaries. What follows therefore is partly specula-
tive, but nevertheless useful in suggesting the reasons for the present
shapes and areas of individual land parcels. One of the striking aspects 423
of the land maps of these areas is the odd and irregular shapes of land
holdings. This is not true of all Okinawa. In some areas, plots on the
hillsides are symmetrical, often rectangular or square. In the areas
studied, there are plots of this sort, but also many that have very
irregular shapes.

It is possible that after the abolition of the old system, some 174
areas in the island were resurveyed, while others were not. Such surveys 423
could have approximated the old areas but created a more regular rectangular 311
pattern. In Hanashiro resurveying apparently was not done. The historical
reasons for the present boundaries are not known because of decades of
cultivation and because the land has not always been used for the same
purposes. One of the large rice growing areas in Hanashiro is a recent
development. The changes from paddy to dry crop land, or the reverse, [435]
seem to have followed the fluctuations in sugar and rice prices. It was
quite probable that formerly the land was less level, that it was more
heavily forested, and that odd shapes were due to the cultivated areas
winding around large outcrops, patches of stony land, clumps of trees,
uncultivated slopes which have now been reclaimed, leveled and cultivated.

Conditions like this are a commonplace in Okinawa today. Some of 174
these boundaries also may be following the lines of old streams.
Rivers, or more properly creeks, are not numerous in Okinawa and their 423
presence is often hidden: a stream rising in a nearby mountain and
ultimately going to the sea eight or ten miles away may be lost in a
wide paddy area and trickle off again in its stream bed after several [133]
hundred feet of dispersion in the paddies. The boundaries may also

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[4] Goldschmidt, Richard. Neu-Japan. Berlin, 1927, 131. (My translation). The same criticism appears of the system in the middle east. See footnote 2 above.

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423 have been affected by roads and trails which have now disappeared.

[115] Old residents[5] of Matsuda and neighboring villages were able to furnish more specific clues regarding the old system and its relatio to other phases of village life. These old people estimated the population of Matsuda at the close of the old system at about 360 [161] persons, compared with the present population of 1368. The system operated under much less acute population pressure than exists today. Deaths, especially from malaria, and a high infant mortality kept [165] the population down, although introduced Japanese hygienic measures helped.

Under the old system in Matsuda, there was a continual clearing [311] of land, mostly around the settlement. There seems little doubt that land reclamation and clearing has been going on slowly from the earliest historical times in Okinawa. The land cleared remained under village ownership, but the persons who cleared the property were allowed to hold it for use without giving it up for periodic redistribution. Technical ownership remained with the village.[6] Fences and stone barriers were erected as a protection against the wild boars. But the large scale reclamation and the private ownership of genya land seems to have occurred after the close of the old system.

The division of lands at the beginning of the new system has set the boundary pattern of many plots. In Matsuda there were instances of land which has retained the same boundaries that it had under the old system. There was general agreement among the old that the form, boundaries, and areas of land plots have changed very little since the times of the *jiwari-seido*. This would be par- [428] ticularly true in the case of property which had passed down through the first son. Changes came from the establishment of branch families, [425] and sales and purchases. In these areas, however, buying and selling have been infrequent.

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[171] The history of land tenure in Okinawa, therefore, is different from that of Japan with its long history of tenancy, whose accumulated problems finally led to the land reform of 1946 during the Allied occupation. The present system of land tenure in Okinawa is a little over 50 years old.

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311 The chief influences of the old system were to set in a form recognizable to the present, the pattern of land holding, to establish land classification, and apply it on a very localized basis.

[115] [5] I am indebted here to Shinzato Zensuke of the village of Sokei (Ginoza-son), and to Oshiro-san of Matsuda village (Ginoza-son) both over 70 years of age for their recollections of the history of the system in Matsuda.

[119] [6] This differs from Goldschmidt's account, cited above, in that in this case the land became a usufruct, in the other actual ownership.

178 423 311 [217] Every parcel of land with its grade and type is mapped, a thoroughness in land classification which has not yet been approached in the United States. While the mapping is recent, the information was always available in the village records. Village owned lands are also a survival of this system, especially the forests in the north. Community owned property is much more modest in area in the south and confined to small parcels of forest or pre-war forest, school and public building sites, community ponds, and the like.

2

Present Land Tenure and Land Classification

423 [888] The present method of land holding based on Japanese law went into effect at the end of the old land allotment system. The head of the family registered all lands, previously held as shares, in his own name. Apparently in the last distribution before the abandonment of the old system, men and women over 52 years of age received their property for life with the right to pass it on to their children. At the beginning of the new system, also, the wild land was still publicly held, but further clearing and reclamation got under way, and the genya land also began to be divided up and became part of private holdings about ten years after the new land law went into effect.

423 427 The new system of private ownership of land introduced buying and selling (baibai), tenancy (kosaku), and land speculation. There had been some tenancy under the old system apparently however it was on a village basis with one community renting from another. There has therefore been insufficient time to develop in Okinawa the widespread abuses associated with the Japanese land tenure system prior to the land reform of 1946.[7]

In all the villages studied, individual ownership is the rule with some informal tenancy. Now an owner is not paid for the use of his land, the result of a Civil Administration measure to encourage maximum food production. Tenancy, as it was observed in the villages was usually an informal lending of the land; the use by a friend, relative, or neighbor of an unused plot.

178 423 311 428 The present system of land use and land tenure is a result of practices and customs developed under the old allotment system, combined with the introduced Japanese system of inheritance. The family system plus these two influences have brought about the modern customs of land inheritance, the distinctions in types of land, and the fragmentation and lack of contiguity in holdings.

[7] Based on conversations with villagers in Matsuda. Uyehara, Yukuo made the same point in accounting for the low percentage of tenancy and the high percentage of independent farmers in Okinawa-ken, Ryukyu Islands, Japan. Economic Geography 9 (1933), 395-405. Reference on 399. [115]

311 Land appraisal made by people with long experience with the
[242] capabilities of their soils under traditional methods of farming,
fertilization, and land reclamation is very old in the culture.
This in itself is a very significant fact about the culture aside
from the obvious technical utility of a land classification system.
[556] Land classification is important as a tangible indication of wealth
as appraised by representatives of the village. This classification
[651] is the basis of taxation of land. A grade two rice paddy pays a
lower tax than a grade one. The system of land classification also
[433] provides a basis for estimating probable yields.

Township officials are responsible for land classification on
[632] a township basis, but each village does its own. In Gushichan township
(Hanashiro and Minatogawa) the elected mayor and his appointed
subordinates and local farmers who know the land well have set up
the system based on classes and grades of land. In Ginoza-son, the
mayor performs a similar function. Since each village has its land
classification, a table of correspondences makes possible the comparison
of equivalent grades. A composite system for the township
can then be made. Grade three rice land in Matsuda, for example,
may be equivalent to grade two rice land in Ginoza village. By
listing all these together, a village wide classification is made.

The main classifications (*tōkyū*) of land found in all communities are: (1) Rice lands, (*ta*, *tambo*), (2) dry crop land (*hatake*). It is very difficult to translate the word *hatake*. So far the expression *dry crop land* has been used. This land may be contrasted with the *wet rice fields*; it is dry farming land, usually on rolling slopes or upland. It is land used for cultivation of domestic plants except rice and one or two other minor crops. Rice and dry crop land are the two main classes. (3) *Genya* land. This word is also difficult to translate. It is variously rendered as wild or waste land, but it is neither wild nor wasteland in an economic sense. It is best described negatively as land not suited for cultivation. Despite its low value, it is important land for its production of grass, reeds, firewood and plant shoots for domestic animals. It is vital in land
[185] conservation. The *genya* land, sometimes on steep or gentle mountain
slopes, sometimes cropping out in the midst of cultivated fields or rice paddies, with its dense growth of grass, its occasional pine tree or cycad effectively binds the soil and prevents disastrous run off and flash floods. Around the village of Hanashiro, *genya* land is rocky and most of its vegetation consists of grass with some shrubs. Before the war, this *genya* land had more pine and cycads than at present, and the disappearance of the cycad and pine furnished greater opportunity for the omnipresent *miscanthus*, though there are occasional regrowths of the pine. In Matsuda, the *genya* land often is indistinguishable from the forest. But the trees are less dense and the privately owned *genya* is interspersed with the small cultivated paddies and fields. (4) House sites (*yashiki*, *takuchi*). There are usually two classes: the first class site is convenient and on a main road or lane; the second class is inconvenient, a rear house, or one

off a main road or village lane. (5) Forest lands (sanrin). This is an important classification in Matsuda, but of minor significance in Hanashiro and Minatogawa. In the latter villages forest land is not recognizable because so many of the trees have been destroyed. In general, forest lands are community owned. (6) Shelter belts or groves of trees along the seashore or on crests of hills for typhoon protection. These are known as bōfurin. The trees are distinct from the forest lands; often they stand in isolated groves. In the south trees for typhoon shelters are confined to the settled area. There are no large groves surrounding and protecting the whole cultivated countryside. (7) Religious sites (haisho). These are small in area, the sites of buildings devoted to the local tutelary deities (ujigami). (8) The village community property (koyūchi). This may include the village office site and school grounds. (9) A miscellaneous classification (zashuchi). This is also public property, including vegetable plots, small public squares, very small parks, ponds, road meeting places and the like. These combined areas are usually small. (10) In the Gushichan area, there is one further classification: destroyed land (tsuborechi). This is land in the war area which has not been or cannot be restored. The pieces are not large. During the war a bulldozer may have made a road out of this land; it may be filled with stones or the shallow top soil of the land may have been scraped off in leveling for an army post or camp. 311 [927]

The bases for grading land within each class are different. In Gushichan township, the main consideration in grading rice land is the availability of water. First class rice land is where the water is. In this township, there are seven grades of rice land, although any one village may have only four or five. The first five grades in the township are rice lands with two yields a year. Grades one through five are determined by the yield of the plot, through past experience. Grades six and seven are one crop areas. The distinctions between the grades can be seen in the following table: 311 243 [312]

Grade of Rice Land	Expected Yield in Koku per Cho
1	24
2	18
3	15
4	12
5	7.5
6	6.7
7	6.0

[433]

A koku is 5.12 US dry bushels. A chō is 3000 tsubo, about 2.45 acres. [804]

If there is a drought in any year, the grades of land are not changed the following year, but the estimate of expected yield may

311 243 be lowered. If the rainfall is unusually low, the estimated yields may even be cut in half. Grade differences are also shown by the Gushichan tax table on rice land:

[651]

Class	Rate in Yen (per *tsubo*)
1	37
2	34
3	31
4	28
5	25
6	22
7	19

311 The grading of dry crop land is not so simple because various crops can be grown and there are difficulties in making equivalences of yields. The grading is more subjective and vague, with gradations based on the judgment of the land committee. It might seem that the grades of dry crop land based on subjective judgment would be difficult to agree upon. This is not the case. Farmers who have lived in the village all their lives, and who as children remembered the experience of their fathers, know their own and their neighbors' land well. Representatives from the village who suggest the grades are chosen by the farmers for their honesty, skill in agriculture, and knowledge of the land.

311 Depth of the soil, flatness, degree of stoniness and accessibility
134 are the most important criteria. The first three of these follow
naturally from conditions widespread in Okinawa. There often is very
133 little topsoil. One can observe cuts in roads or sharp declivities
which show soils only an inch or two deep before meeting the consolidated or unconsolidated rock below. The hilly and mountainous
nature of the island enforces cultivation on slopes, summits, and
rolling hills. Stoniness, whether large boulders or small pebbles
or both is common. One of the occupations of the old in Minatogawa
[887] and Nagamo is to convert stony to arable land by tediously picking
up the stones and throwing them into piles for subsequent sale in
road building. But often the boulders are so large that cultivation
must curve around them. These conditions can be seen to good advantage in Nagamo. In Hanashiro, the soils are flatter, less stony, and
deeper. Matsuda has wide areas of poor shallow and stony soils.
[241] First class *hatake* land, then, is flat, deep, with few or no stones,
and suitable either for sugar or the sweet potato and the various
common vegetables.

311 With this standard of first class *hatake* land, the other grades are judged, mostly by inspection and through consultation and agreement by the committee. In the Gushichan township, there are ten such grades of *hatake* land, the tenth grade being so poor that it is virtually *genya* land. In dry crop land, probably the most important

single criterion is nearness, providing the land has possibilities. 311
Good land, unless of substantial area, if remote and far from roads,
is very time consuming and inconvenient.

Genya land in the Gushichan area has two grades. The criterion [824]
here is the presence of grass and small shrubs that can be used for
firewood. Grade two genya grows little or nothing either because of
the large boulders or because it has too many small stones or unconsolidated [134]
rock with little vegetation. If it were not for stones or
such topographical factors as steepness or ruggedness, some genya [133]
land could be classified as poor grade dry crop land. There are, as
in rice land, tax differentials according to grade of hatake and
genya land:

[651]

Grade	Dry Crop Land Tax in Yen	Wild Land (Genya) Tax in Yen
1	13	2
2	12	1.80
3	11	
4	10	
5	9	
6	8	
7	7	
8	6	
9	5	
10	4	

In Ginoza-son, the land classification system is substantially
the same. There are six different grades of land classified according
to yield in go per tsubo. (A go is 1/1000 of a koku, a tsubo about [804]
4 square yards).

[433]
[241]

Grade	Yield	Remarks
1	5	Two annual plantings.
2	4	Two annual plantings.
3	3	Dependent entirely on amount of estimated rainfall.
4	2	
5	1.5	
6	1.0	Mountain paddy, very uncertain, depending on rainfall; occasionally two crops a year are possible.

Dry crop land is judged by criteria similar to those in Gushichanson. [134]
Grade 1 is good soil and convenient to water with good yields as
shown by experience. Grades 2 and 3 are convenient to water, but soils [312]
are of lesser quality. The classification is also based on experience.
Grade 4 is in low places, generally narrow ravines between steep [133]
wooded slopes. Grades 5 and 6 have little or no water, are stony,
and inconvenient.

311 Land classification in Okinawa proceeds from the village to the township and then to the whole island. Each class of land in a village has its own grade. By combining these grades a township classification is made. This is done first by village committees determining the grades for each of their classes of land, and then by setting up a table of equivalences after discussion by the committee representing the whole township. Matsuda's first grade dry crop land might be considered by the land classification committee to be equal in quality to Ginoza village's second class land. While there might be only six classifications for any one village, when all these are combined, there may be ten grades for the township. This is shown by the table of correspondences for Matsuda and neighboring villages in Ginoza-son, as of November 1951.

In this illustration, Matsuda's first class rice land is considered second grade on a township wide basis; its sixth grade dry crop land is grade nine, and its first and second class houses are by comparison, grades three and four in the whole township.

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632 With minor variations, the procedures in classifying land are the same in both townships. Each village makes the classification of its own land. This is done by five villagers, chosen by the people for their knowledge and integrity. In Oushichan township, village experts are designated to serve on the township committee.[8] Seven men from the villages are joined by the mayor (*sonchō*), the vice-mayor (*joyaku*), the trade and industry section head, the agricultural section head of the township office, a total of eleven men, who then determine the township classifications. These committees make inspections of doubtful cases, often after working hours. The field trips usually end [574] up with a *sake* party.

In Ginoza-son essentially the same procedures are followed. Each village sends representatives, the number being determined by the area of the village. In late 1951, this village-wide committee had 24 members with the township mayor as chairman. Each village prepares its own land classification map. The local classifications, later combined to make a township-wide classification, have the advantage of limiting the range of grades in a small area and of comparing parcels close together.

Occasionally the grade of a plot is changed to correct an error or to make it consistent with an improvement. A new road may make a plot of land more accessible and thus change its grade.

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556 In all the villages studied, land classification was important for the same reasons: for tax purposes, for estimating future production, and for the individual farmer, a means of demonstrating tangible wealth.

[8] One representative each is chosen from the villages of Oushichan, Aragusuku, Koshihara, and Nakaza villages, one from Oton and Hanashiro combined, one from Asato and Yoza combined, and one from Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku combined.

TOWNSHIP LAND CLASSIFICATION
(Correspondences)

311

1. Rice Land (Ta)

Township Grade	Villages of:			
	Kanna	Sokei	Ginosa	Matsuda
1	1			
2			1	1
3	2	1		
4				2
5	3	2	2	
6			3	3
7		3		
8	4	4	4	4
9	5	5	5	5
10	6	6	6	6

2. Dry Crop Land (Hatake)

1		1	1	
2			2	1
3	1	2	3	
4				2
5	2	3	4	
6		4		3
7	3		5	4
8	4	5		5
9	5	6	6	6
10	6			

3. House Sites (Yashiki)

1			1	
2	1	1		
3			2	1
4	2	2		2

4. Wild Land (Genya)

1				1
2	1	1	1	
3	2	2	2	
4				2

5. Forest Lands

1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2

666

6. Miscellaneous (Zashuchi)

1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2

311 487 363 One feature typical of these villages is the boundary path (*aze*), sometimes only a foot wide. The path is a boundary and a means of access. Roads and lanes are in the main areas of the village. They do not checkerboard a whole area. Too much land would be sacrificed. The farmer leaves his home, walks along the road or lane, and then takes a winding boundary path to his own field. In the aggregate, considerable land is taken up by boundary paths. Often the sides of the plot along the path are cut perpendicularly to take as full advantage of the soil as possible. There is little slope from the path to the field, and the paths of the rice paddy often look like miniature levees.

311 423 In his *Narrative of a Voyage of the Ship Morison*, which appeared in *The Chinese Repository* for 1838, S. Wells Williams wrote concerning Okinawa: "Indeed the Lilliputian minuteness with which the country is subdivided is singular." The tables and the land use maps which follow document this observation. The tables, which show the [217] number of plots and their average size, for each village, were computed from land registers in the two township offices. The three main classifications, rice, dry crop, and wild land, have been selected. To appreciate the size of these plots, one should bear in mind that a 40' x 80' lot has over 88 *tsubo* and that an acre contains about 1210 *tsubo*.

[217] The maps represent a tiny portion of those cadastral maps collected from the township offices and of which tracings were made. They also illustrate the complete and painstaking subdivision of a village area and the general uses to which each parcel is put.

Rice Land (*Ta*)

a. Hanashiro

Grade	*No. of Plots*	*Average Area in Tsubo*
Total	201	140.4
1	59	52.9
2	36	160.8
3	44	182.6
4	58	179.8
5	4	212.5

b. Matsuda

Grade	*No. of Plots*	*Average Area in Tsubo*
Total	560	137.2
1	30	60.5
2	76	140.0
3	178	132.1
4	175	154.9
5	101	136.3

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Dry Crop Land (Hatake)

a. Hanashiro

Grade	No. of Plots	Average Area in Tsubo
Total	497	327.1
1	51	320.2
2	73	357.0
3	140	327.9
4	108	335.7
5	98	293.3
6	27	343.5

b. Minatogawa

Grade	No. of Plots	Average Area in Tsubo
Total	207	256.5
1	0	—
2	3	394.0
3	24	316.2
4	41	309.1
5	139	227.7

c. Matsuda

Grade	No. of Plots	Average Area in Tsubo
Total	1155	162.4
1	30	148.0
2	106	174.8
3	300	159.4
4	436	174.2
5	207	148.9
6	76	131.3

Wild Land (Genya)

a. Hanashiro

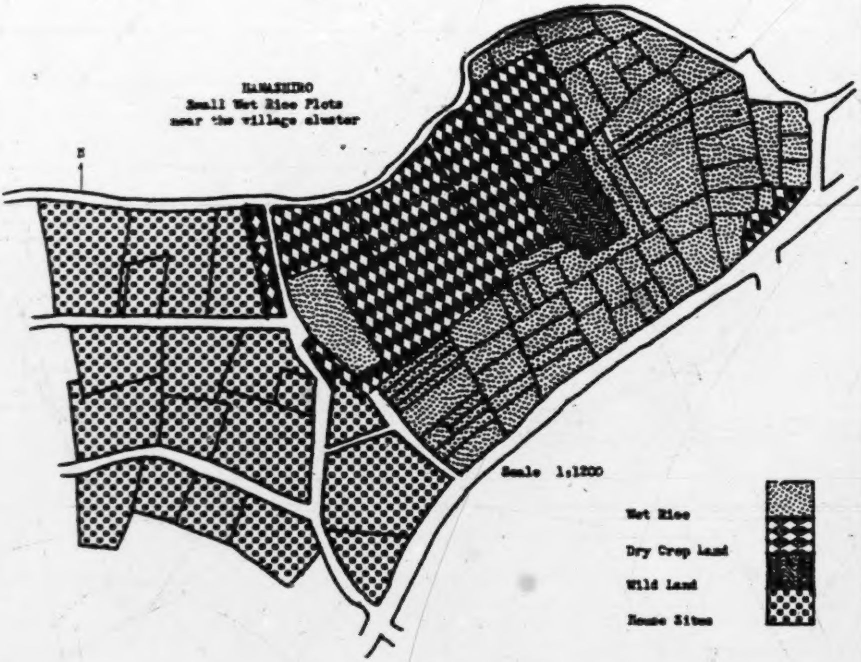
Grade	No. of Plots	Average Area in Tsubo
Total	360	462.6
1	81	378.9
2	279	486.9

b. Minatogawa

Grade	No. of Plots	Average Area in Tsubo
Total	71	244.3
1	20	184.2
2	47	275.7
3	2	140.0
4	2	209.5

c. Matsuda

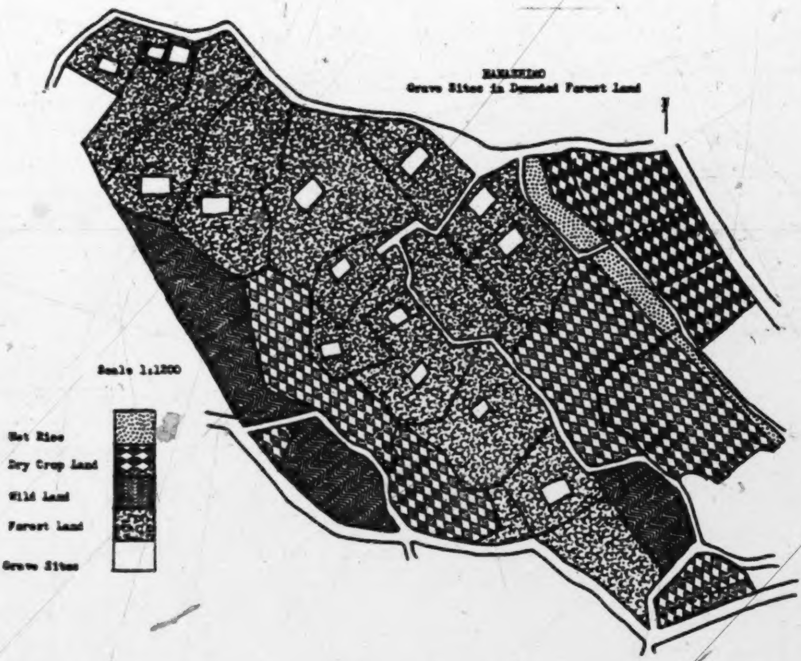
Grade	No. of Plots	Average Area in Tsubo
Total	1140	327.8
1	36	560.3
2	1091	320.5
3-6	13	301.5



HANASHIRO
Small Wet Rice Plots
near the village cluster

N
Scale 1:1200
Wet Rice
Dry Crop Land
Wild Land
House Sites

102
311
764

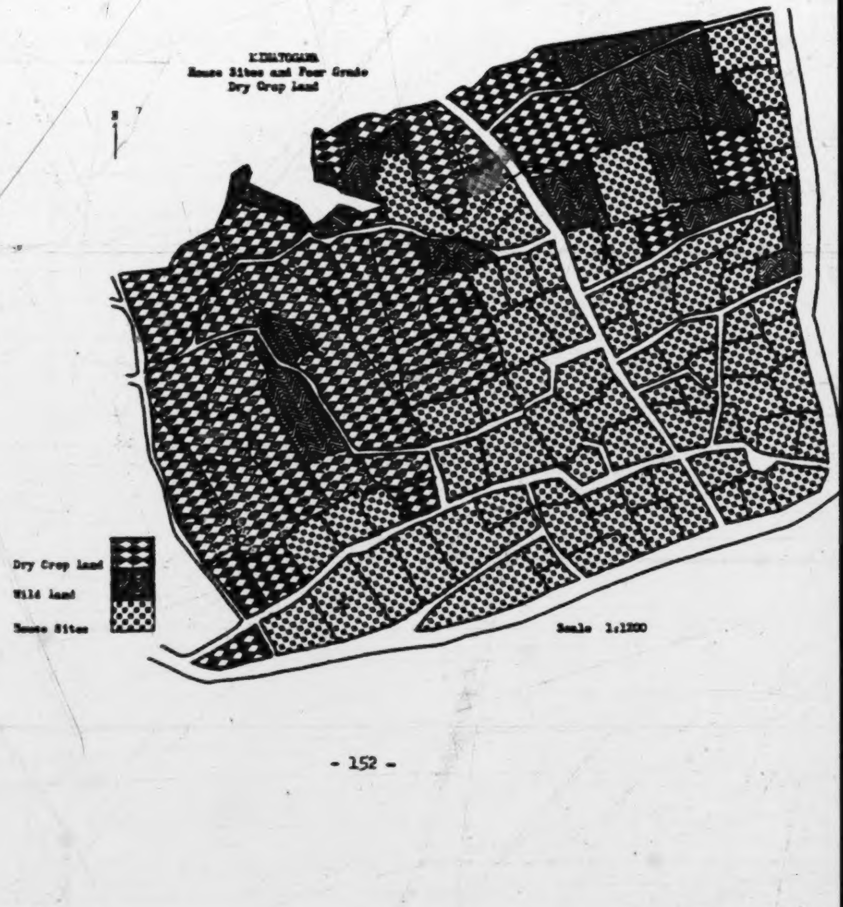


[illegible]
Grave Sites in Denuded Forest Land

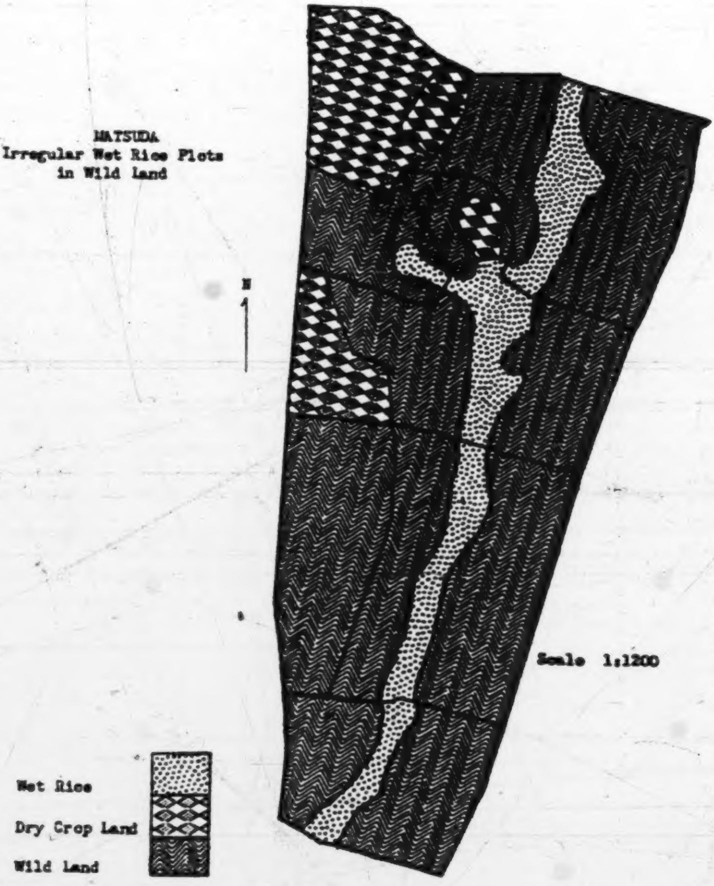
N
Scale 1:1200
Wet Rice
Dry Crop Land
Wild Land
Forest Land
Grave Sites

6

102
311
361


KIBATOGAWA
House Sites and Poor Grade
Dry Crop Land
N
Dry Crop land
Wild land
House Sites
Scale 1:1200

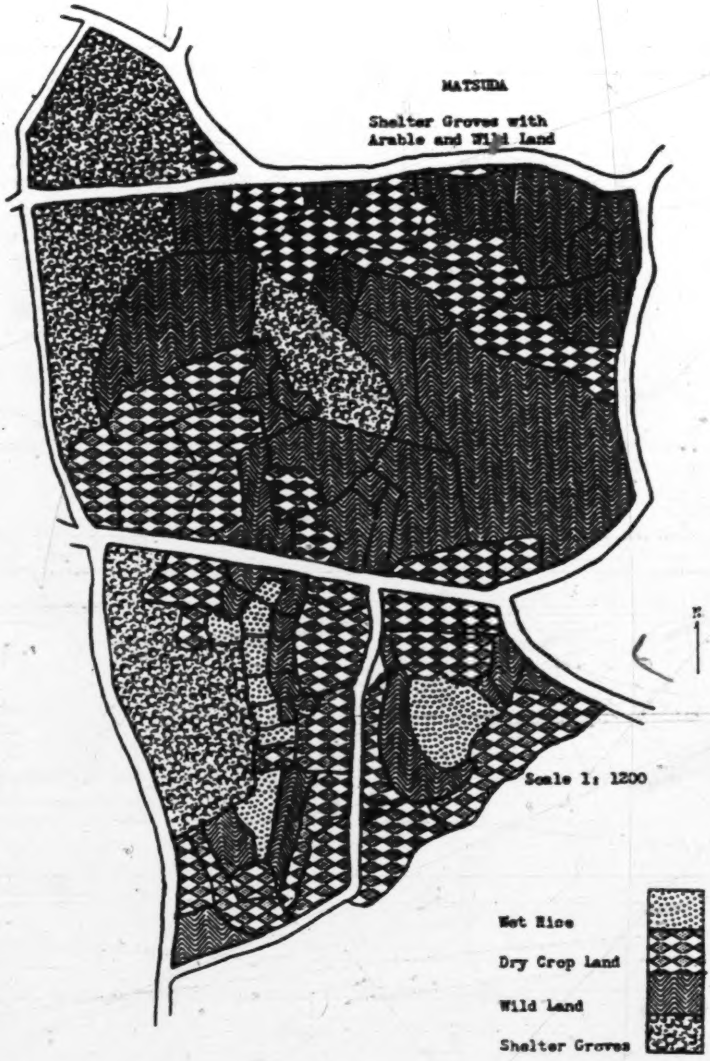
102
311



MATSUDA
Irregular Wet Rice Plots
in Wild Land

N
Scale 1:1200
Wet Rice
Dry Crop Land
Wild Land

102
311



MATSUDA

Shelter Groves with Arable and Wild Land

N
Scale 1: 1200
Wet Rice
Dry Crop Land
Wild Land
Shelter Groves

3

Care and Conservation of Land

One of the significant tasks of our time is the study of the 121
relation between population growth and density and the exploitation 114
of renewable and non-renewable resources: the effects of a culture
on the land, the forests, the soils and the vegetation must be considered in ethnographic and geographic work. If this is not done the culture is studied as if it rested, like a plate on a table, on a geographic base, without bothering to discover the nature of the environment or what the culture is doing to it.

Nineteenth century studies of primitive and advanced societies emphasized the influence of the physical environment in molding a culture. This crude fallacy, often known as geographic determinism or environmentalism, was exploded by studies made of cultures in all parts of the world in which it became clear that the physical environment is not the cause of cultural differences.

But the reverse of this approach, the examination of what a culture is doing to its physical environment, its soils, its vegetation, and its forests has not been carried on with the vigor with which other aspects of culture have been studied. This point of view has practical significance in day to day administration. Economic matters such as foreign trade or the labor force requirement should not be a separate and independent segment for study. Changes in inheritance should not be viewed solely with reference to the family system. Forest conservation should not be regarded only as a technique and a necessary department in the government.

The effects of the devastating typhoons, for example, need no 731
elaboration: the destruction of life, crops, houses, of boats, and 727
breakwaters. But their effects are also influenced by other factors.
The two southern villages were in the midst of some of the violent 362
fighting of the Okinawan campaign. Large numbers of houses in both 824
communities were destroyed by the war. The new buildings to replace
them are so frail that in typhoon times they are often destroyed. 182
This rebuilding requires more wood and more grass. Thus, such
factors as the war, the inability to reconstruct permanent housing,
typhoons, and the natural growing of miscanthus grass are joined together in a close relationship.

In the south the relationship of typhoon destruction to de- 731
forestation is striking. There is need for tidebreak groves and 137
shelter belts along the coast to protect crops from wind and salt-
water spray, a need which fortunately the Ryukyuan Forest Agency [313]
is attempting to meet. Deforestation in the south seems inescapably
tied up with long occupance. The center of population has always been [361]
in the southern part of the island. Not only should there be trees,
but they should be planted in the right places. The deforestation of

731 313 The deforestation of the south over a period of centuries thus is related to water spray and wind damage, relationships which a wise administration cannot neglect.

121 The natural tendency is to think in terms of population and land and of the food which it can produce. But if the population is envisaged in terms of forest, the land, both cultivated and uncultivated, and the role of the uncultivated land in protecting the soil, broader understandings are possible.[9]

231 It is a significant fact, to use another example, that goats are tethered and not allowed to graze. They do not roam the hillsides, nor crop off the shoots of young plants. If they did, it is possible that legislation controlling the goat might have to be enacted such as has been done in the island of Cyprus.

311 731 185 It is important therefore, to ascertain how a culture makes use of its natural environment and also how it takes care of it. Typhoons cannot be controlled. Neither can periods of drought which often produce water shortages, prevent the planting of sweet potatoes, or the harvesting of a good rice crop. In areas where control is possible, the Okinawans have developed conservation measures. Almost one hundred years ago, Dr. D. S. Green, Fleet Surgeon attached to the frigate Mississippi on Perry's expedition to Japan, wrote:

175 185

> "Two objects seem to influence the islanders in all their operations, viz: *the retention of water or moisture, and the avoidance of surface-washing.* To effect these desirable ends, especially in a rolling country, a great quantity of grading is required, besides very deep culture; and *here both of these have been done.*"[10]

000 In the areas studied, no serious sheet erosion was observed.

[Text continues top of P. 157 -- analyst]

[9] The general ideas and points of view expressed by Edward Graham in his Natural principles of land use, London, New York, and Toronto, 1944, are pertinent here.

[10] Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, II, 26-27. The emphasis is in the original. Green continues with further details of grading around streams, along ravines, and on the uplands. His description today would still fit many parts of Okinawa. He was particularly impressed with the lands on a journey between *Nugah* (i.e., Nago) and Tanegah, southwest of Unten. His whole passage is well worth reading.

Two other forms of land conservation and maintenance, crop rotation and fertilizers, will be discussed under agriculture.

In the areas studied, no serious sheet erosion was observed
No doubt this may be a problem in parts of Okinawa, but it is
doubtful that this menace will threaten the habitability of the 134
island. Occasionally one can see a freshly hoed field on a slope 133
that is losing its soil during a downpour. But the fact that the 137
hills and mountains are covered with vegetation, are not too steep,
and that grasses and shrubs are cut off allowing the stubble with 185
the roots to remain in the soil effectively binds the soil of the
hills and at the same time prevents flash floods. With the exception of stony soils, the land of the areas studied had a plant
cover. This statement is not inconsistent with the previous remarks regarding deforestation, as the disappearance of the pine,
the cycad, and the pandanus has been offset by the spread of kaya
(miscanthus) grass. Boundary paths also keep the soil in place.
They often roughly follow the slope and are sufficiently crooked [487]
and winding and of sufficient depth to prevent washing away of
large quantities of soil. While there is no complex irrigation
system in these areas, the small ditches which carry the water
down the slope are winding and covered on their borders by weeds. [312]
Occasionally one can see a farmer shovelling up the soil accumulated in a natural catchment in a bend of one of these ditches and
restoring the lost soil to his land.

In all areas, equally simple devices to protect the soil 185
could be observed. Roadside borders of stone, like the stone of 417
a rock garden, often line the fields adjoining main roads. (One could write a long essay on stones and the part they play in the culture of the people). These stones come from the fields. If fields do not have stone borders, weeds are left to grow. They are cropped, but the roots are left in the soil. In Hanashiro, stone fences on slopes and contour breaks are a common sight. Sometimes these have the appearance of blunt wedges, the end of the wedge going up the ravine. These stones have been painstakingly gathered from nearby areas.

Terracing is practiced in a crude form in these areas. It 185
really is step or bench cultivation, the plots being above one 241
another in step like order. The function of terracing is, in the case of the dry crop land, to bring more land under cultivation, protecting it from washing away; in the case of the rice fields, it supplies flat land for cultivation at different levels. In the areas studied, terracing did not go all the way up the mountain side, although this practice can be observed in parts of Okinawa.

Very frequently the ledges of the terraces are covered with a border of weeds or cropped grass which prevent soil runoff down the hill. In the Matsuda area, rice is grown up a narrow mountain valley, or ravine, with trees and shrubbery on the hillsides growing to the very edge of the cultivated plots. In rice terracing, the boundary paths often divide one step from another with openings in the ditches to allow the passage of water to the level below.

311 Slow conversion of land to arable fields is constantly going
on in situations in which the amount of labor involved is not even
considered. One such activity in the Minatogawa area is typical.
[134] Originally the field could not be worked because of the large
quantities of smaller boulders, stones, and pebbles, all small
enough to be carried off, too numerous to encourage hopes for quick
[412] transformation. With difficulty this land is worked with the short
handled broad bladed hoe. The hoes with two or three prongs are
used for softer soils. This hard hoeing is often done by women.
[462] The surface stones are thrown aside into little piles along the road.
[491] These can now be sold for use in road construction. The vegetation
on the surface is also turned under. Later in the year, after the
rain has gone into the loosened soil, it is hoed again, and this time
it is possible to go in deeper. Weeds, rice straw, unused *miscanthus*,
straw from the pig or goat pen may be added, and this is allowed to
rot in the soil. Then the field is hoed again, and the deeper rocks
and stones, and those left behind before, are unturned and the process
is repeated. In the end, and this period may vary from one to several
years depending on the quantity of stones, the farmer has a plot of
[134] land, of a rich chocolate brown color, of fair texture and fertility,
suitable for growing sweet potatoes.

133 In Matsuda, there is a slightly different situation. The
topography here has a different character than that of the south. Hills,
311 caves, sinks, and slopes are everywhere, and as a consequence, cultivation
is more scattered. In the southern villages, land use follows a
more recognizable pattern. The low flat areas are used for rice, the
higher parts of the flat land and the slopes and the rolling upland
for dry crop land, while the highest parts on the hill or mountain
summits are in grasses, shrubs, and scattered scrub trees. In
Matsuda, these are all mixed up. Rice may be growing in a *genya*
area. In another part of the village, sweet potatoes may, in a
similar situation, be the rule. This crazy-quilt pattern of rice,
genya and dry crop land, all adjoining, stimulates the gradual conversion
of *genya* to arable land. When rice is made out of the *genya*
land the converted plot is known in Okinawan as *gata*. It is a
laborious process of clearing, removing stones, hoeing, cutting
perpendicular sides, making a hard surface to contain the water for
the rice that will be grown. In some sections of Matsuda, the very
small valleys have been converted to S-shaped rice plots.

311 Casual observers often see unused land and conclude that large
amounts can be reclaimed. They do not see the stones, or the hard-
134 rock which may be an inch or two below the surface. They would do
well to look at village maps to see how these lands are regarded by
the villagers who have tilled them. Probably more efficient conversion
and reclamation could be carried on with machinery and with
the generous use of fertilizers.

311 In the desire for more land, it should not be overlooked that
185 the great conservation value of *genya* land and the poorer upland

plots lies in their being as they are, separating one cultivated area 311
from another, binding the soil, and that they are probably serving 185
their best purposes now, as they have in the past, in furnishing this
protection.

The conservation practices of the Okinawans are at least in 185
part a consequence of the topography. The care of upland areas and 133
rolling hills is imperative. For a great deal of cultivation takes
place here. Unlike China, there is not a strong contrast between 311
large scale paddy rice in alluvial soils and the relative neglect of
upland areas with deforestation and erosion. In China the meticulous [171]
care of the transported soils of the lowlands and the neglect of the
uplands is a striking aspect of the attitude toward land. This is
true, perhaps to a lesser degree, of Japan.[11]

In Okinawa there are insufficient delta plains and alluvial soils to provide these contrasts between lowland and upland agriculture. The scarcity of river deltas and alluvial plains means relatively little rice and the use of the rolling hills and the steeper sides of mountains. This necessity has enforced a care of the uplands. It is true that one often sees sweet potatoes or other dry crops growing in rows up and down a hill instead of along contours, and that there seems often to be a lack of appreciation of the consequences of misuse of forest land through clear cutting. But in the main in the use of the uplands for cultivation, the weed borders or rock fences, and other simple devices keep the soils from erosion. The relatively gentle topography has also contributed to this achievement.

4

Fragmentation and Consolidation

Fragmentation of land is common in Okinawa. Ownership of con- 423
tiguous plots of land is not the general rule. It is a basic fact of 241
land tenure and influences land use and agricultural practice. This
fragmentation is a deterrent to the use of machinery, unless co-
operatively owned or unless certain individuals specialize in the

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[11] See James Thorp, Geography of the soils of China, Nanking 1936, especially Chapters xii-xiv. Gourou, Pierre. The development of upland areas in China, and Trewartha, Glenn T., Utilization of Upland areas in Japan. In: The development of upland areas of the Far East, Vol. I. (Institute of Pacific Relations), New York, 1949. Trewartha describes his surprise in his earlier studies of Japan and his acquaintance "with the fact that the Japanese, like most Orientals, greatly deprecate the value of upland or non-irrigated sites for agricultural land use." (p. 59). This choosiness is not possible for the Okinawans.

423 business. Fragmentation means inconvenience, loss of time and effort
241 in the simultaneous cultivation of different fields. The situation is
the same for the well-to-do and the poor alike. Large holdings do not
mean single pieces of land within a large area, but many small parcels
of land, of different classification and grade, scattered like those of
a less prosperous farmer. There are offsetting advantages. The
greatest of these is that crop destruction through typhoons, salt
spray, or flooding may be less catastrophic to the individual owner
with small scattered holdings than if a family has a single large plot
of land.

423 Another effect of fragmentation is that it makes a particular
425 plot of land difficult to sell. If one has a small plot of land, an
island in a sea of other ownership, the prospective buyer is in the
same position as the seller, unless the buyer owns contiguous land
and has the money to make the purchase.

423 The natural question at this point is: what are the possibilities of consolidation of ownership in the interests of more efficient and convenient agriculture? The general answer, I believe, is that fragmentation is almost inevitable, consolidation only possible.

In both of the agricultural villages studied, some voluntary consolidation (kokanbungo) has taken place, but it is not of major proportions. It occurs chiefly for two reasons: (1) clustering one's land near the house site, or having two or more parcels of contiguous land is universally desired. Going to and fro is considered troublesome and onerous. (2) When branch families are established, farmers wish to exchange a distant plot for one in the village for a house site. This is often difficult to do, for such an exchange must be mutually advantageous to bring about a transfer.

423 Typhoons are a major obstacle to voluntary consolidation into
731 large holdings. It is perhaps possible to exaggerate this, but personal experience and conversation with villagers who have lost the
entire crop of one parcel but have salvaged part of the crop of another
convince me of its force. A typhoon damages a whole area but the
scattered holdings provide the chance that something might be saved.
The total damage is the same in any event regardless of ownership. It
is the distribution of loss that varies. If in the future, land
consolidation were attempted on a broad scale, either by voluntary
individual effort, or cooperatively, crop insurance or some form of
sharing losses would seem to be necessary.

423 The present system of land ownership and of land use and the
311 fragmentation of land would seem to preclude any extensive mechaniza-
407 tion of agriculture. Even with consolidated holdings, the nature of
the landscape might make the effort uneconomical, though this is a
question for technicians in these fields.

5

Conclusion

The sources of the present land tenure and land use practices are to be sought in the old land allotment system. The original fragmentation of land was due to the land classification based in turn on the fact that excellent, good, and poor lands were not in one area, but were scattered. Further fragmentation has come from land division because of the establishment of branch families. With each generation a further fragmentation will take place. The present system of land tenure and of land use is to be explained, therefore, as a result of the ancient family system working first within the framework of the old allotment system, and then within the introduced Japanese system of inheritance, with practices of land use retaining some of the influences of the old. 423 311 428

The experience of the next few years in Japan will be interesting to observe. With equal inheritance for each child, will there be a hopeless splintering of land or land speculation in the sale of small holdings? Before any changes are made in the present Okinawan inheritance laws, the possible effects on land use and agriculture should be studied. Considerations should not be confined to a legalistic or sociological approach to the family itself. Besides of what value to the heirs would splintered, minute, and fragmented holdings be? 000

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PART FOUR

WAYS OF LIVING

CHAPTER IX

AGRICULTURE

000

1 Introduction
2 Methods and Tools
3 The Annual Work Cycle
4 Rice Cultivation
5 The Sweet Potato
6 The Planting of Sugar Cane and Sugar Making
7 Other Crops
8 Native Uncultivated Plants of Use to Man (Other than Forest Trees)
9 Domestic Animals
10 Conclusion

1

Introduction

463 The basic occupation of the Okinawans has been and continues to be agriculture. The agricultural, not the fishing, wood gathering, or stonecutting community is typical. Fishing, stonecutting and forestry have been the occupations of certain villages or areas, or of certain groups within a village. This and the following chapter describe these ways of living.

128 Agricultural practices gathered from Hanashiro, Nagamo (to some extent), and Matsuda will be presented in this chapter. Minatogawa has been omitted because it is primarily a fishing and stonecutting community, and there is nothing distinctive or unusual in its agriculture. This presentation avoids the repetitive description of similar activities that would follow from a discussion of each village separately. Significant differences, where they appear, will be mentioned, and in this manner, I hope, the identities of the individual villages will not be lost, despite the topical arrangement.

241 262 433 [439] Okinawan agriculture is basically the story of four crops: rice, sweet potatoes, the soy bean, and sugar cane. Rice is a minor crop. Not all farmers grow it, and rice consumption rests both on homegrown products and imports. Individual farmers occasionally grow both to sell and for home use. Today it is less of a luxury than it was before the war because of the imports and the home grown crop. In Okinawa two crops a year are possible.

The sweet potato is the main crop. Cultivation continues throughout the year. Potatoes often are dug on a day to day basis as required for human or animal consumption. At any one time, the patches of sweet potatoes owned by a farmer may represent all stages of growth from a fresh transplanted field to a patch ready for digging. The sweet potato is the cheapest all purpose food, both for human and animal consumption. Okinawans tire of it because poverty enforces such frequent consumption. Since the war, the increased availability of rice for home use, and the opportunities of purchasing rice have relieved this complete dependence on the sweet potato. Among some families, though these are still few, the sweet potato has become the food of animals, with only select ones used at the table. But for the great majority the sweet potato still is the basic article of diet. It is cheap and easy to cultivate either by men or women. Little can be realized from its sale.

[432] [263] Soy beans are grown for home consumption. Making bean curd in the home is universal. Brown sugar is produced as a cash crop. Some is used in the home as a confection both for adults and children.

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262 These crops do not exhaust their agriculture. Wheat and barley are grown, but not in significant quantities. Varieties of beans other than the soybean are important. Pumpkins and gourds of various kinds make valuable food supplements. The onion, the carrot, and the giant horse radish are grown for home use, occasionally for sale. More unusual products, such as the taro, are grown less frequently and then only for side dishes at meals.

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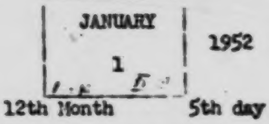
[177] In their agricultural work, farmers prefer the lunar (kyūreki, literally, old calendar) to the western, solar (seireki) calendar. The lunar calendar was abolished for official purposes by the Japanese in 1874. While this change was introduced into Okinawa, the lunar calendar still has vitality in the countryside. The present published calendars show with a large numeral the day in the western count, but in each block, in smaller script, is the corresponding lunar date:



Births, deaths, official correspondence are recorded in the western count. The farmer, however, thinks in terms of the lunar calendar. When he says he plants his sweet potatoes in May, he means May by the lunar count.

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Western Solar and Lunar Day Equivalents

Western	Lunar Count	
	1951, Year of the Hare	1952, Year of the Dragon
Jan 1	Nov 24	Dec 5
Feb 1	Dec 25	Jan 6
Mar 1	Jan 24	Feb 6
Apr 1	Feb 25	Mar 7
May 1	Mar 26	Apr 8
Jun 1	Apr 27	May 9*
Jul 1	May 27	May 10*
Aug 1	Jun 29	Jun 11
Sept 1	Aug 1	Jul 12
Oct 1	Sep 1	Aug 13
Nov 1	Oct 3	Sep 14
Dec 1	Nov 3	Oct 15

* The period from May 24 to June 21, 1952, western calendar, corresponds to the lunar May 1 to May 29. The fifth month is then repeated beginning June 22 and ending July 21, western count. This intercalary month is necessary because the lunar year is about 355 days long. As a consequence about 11 days are lost each year, and an additional month is required every third year.

Some young farmers are now breaking away from the traditional lunar month and using the western calendar in describing their annual activities.[1] 221 805

The use of the lunar month is not confined to farmers. Fishermen, describing their work year, speak in terms of lunar months. For this reason, it is essential in talking to farmers or fishermen to establish at the outset what reckoning they are using. The names of the lunar month and the western month are identical. Following the Chinese, there are no distinctive names for the months. They are numbered from one to twelve. The months have to be distinguished by saying, for example, "sixth month, old calendar," or sixth month, Western calendar." [177]

An interesting minor detail of agriculture and the timekeeping connected with it is the reliance of Okinawan farmers on Japanese almanacs. These are printed and may be purchased throughout the island. One of these printed almanacs is in almost every house, or is readily available from a neighbor. Often, if one asks what is planted or harvested in any particular month, the farmer reaches for his almanac and produces the desired information. If the inquirer is not careful, he will obtain not what a farmer does during the year but what the almanac says he does.

2

Methods and Tools

In the chapter on general geography, it was pointed out that, despite a high annual rainfall and precipitation every month of the year, there is a problem of water shortage and of drought. This is especially serious in the summer months in all three communities. 132 731

[Text Continues Top of P. 167--Analyst]

[1] The 24 seasons, borrowed from the 24 Chinese solar terms, into which the lunar year is divided, are also retained on the modern calendar, largely for the use of farmers. For example, Shōkan (Little Cold) begins about Jan 6, Chūkei (Insects Awaken) on March 6, Bōshu (Grain in Ear) on June 5, Ritto (Beginning of winter) on Nov. 7. These 24 seasons, in my experience, are not used much. Farmers think more in terms of the four seasons instead of the 24 little seasons. In Okinawa, they must be revised mentally to suit the humid subtropical climate. "Light snow," and "Heavy snow" are inapplicable in Okinawa; they would simply be small seasons in which one would expect the greatest severity of winter. For a list of the small seasons with Chinese characters, see The five thousand character dictionary, 5th ed., with additions and revisions by George D. Wilder and Chien Hsien Tseng. Peking, 1940, xxxi. [177]

132 731 March through June is the season of greatest rainfall and therefore of greatest flood danger. September and October rain is often light, and it is during this period that there is the greatest likelihood that the sweet potatoes will dry up. During the rainy season, there is flood damage to the rice and dry crop fields, especially if they are in the narrow ravines, or along small stream beds.

132 312 241 In Hanashiro, dependence on rainfall is immediate and direct. There is no way of storing water in the mountains by accumulations of snow. Runoff from the hills into the small streams is rapid. Short periods without rain are serious. The planting of the sweet potato is very sensitive to this factor. If one asks a farmer when he plants sweet potatoes, he always qualifies his reply by beginning, "If there is enough rain..."

241 312 There is in these villages no complex irrigation (kangai). In Hanashiro, the flow of water through rice fields and its division are controlled by simple means. Water comes from the nearby hills, either in rivulets or in slightly wider ditches. In the former case, the water is divided by allowing the owner on one side of the stream to get water one day, diverting it on the next to the other side. The larger streams may be forked.

[133] Streams soon lose their identity as they descend from the hills to the lowlands, where they become the water of the paddy. The streams of Okinawa are hidden in the rice fields.

241 311 312 In Matsuda, the flow of water down the hillsides is controlled largely by bench cultivation. Rice paddies go far up the narrow valleys and ravines. When these have been converted to rice fields, the water flows into the highest level. A small aperture on the opposite side allows it to fall into the next lower paddy until the water reaches the level of the valley or lowland, where it may be further dispersed throughout rice fields, or trickle off again as a stream. In this way, the flow of the water, not too fast, not too sluggish, provides continually fresh water with its nutrients from the hillsides for each field, and makes possible the irrigation of large areas.

It is for these reasons that terracing is practiced. Cultivation is easier. So is irrigation. Soil runoff is avoided. Terracing is the only way that a ravine or a small slope can be used for paddies, for which a flat and level piece of land is required. Otherwise, the water necessary for the plant runs off.

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Not all of the upland or slope cultivation is done by terracing, as we have seen. Crops other than rice are often grown on hillsides, or up slopes, less often following the contour of the land. The precautions here are also suited to the cultivation: weeds or grasses grow along boundary lines or divide off sharp drops, or small stone fences may be used.

In Nagamo, where there is no rice grown, there is little water from these sources. It comes from rainfall and amounts of sugar cane and sweet potato that are grown depend on its quantity and regularity. Water regardless of crop is a constant problem. [312]

In Okinawan agriculture, constant fertilization is necessary. There are too many people to leave land fallow in ordinary times. Each plot must be used if the farmer has the time and energy to do so. Since the island is in a humid subtropical climate, the organic materials in the soil (humus) are quickly oxidized. Porous soils encourage the leaching of minerals from the top soil, especially with torrential rains. The fewness of domestic animals increases the dependence on plant residues and artificial fertilizers. One of the commonest complaints of the Okinawan farmer, in addition to the poorness of his soil and crop damage from typhoons, is that it must be unceasingly fertilized. It is a treadmill. He must walk fast to stay in the same place. [134] [231]

There is very little difference in the use of fertilizers in the communities studied. Fertilizers most frequently used are:

(1) Composts. A typical mixture (though there are many combinations) may be composed of dried miscanthus, or any kind of grass, ashes and cinders, perhaps some pieces of charcoal, and goat droppings. This is left a month outside in a pile and put on the fields and hoed under.

(2) Plant residues. These are put on the soil, both of paddy and dry crop land, and hoed under. Plants are the greatest single source of fertilizer. The cut over rice plant is turned under in the paddy field. Tops of the sweet potato, if not used as slips or for food for animals, miscanthus grass, and burned rice hulls are other sources of fertilizer. [824]

(3) Animal manures mixed usually with pen grass. Animal fertilizers are not abundant, an indirect effect of the war which greatly reduced the number of horses, cattle, pigs, goats, and the smaller domestic animals. When available, goat, pig, or horse manures are used. Pig or goat pen grass is gathered up and spread on the fields. Pig manure is the best source of animal fertilizer, for pigs are the most numerous of the larger domestic animals. [727] [237] [231]

(4) Night soil. The use of night soil, called jinpun in Okinawan, has declined from pre-war times. It is often said that it is not used at all. But this statement must be qualified. It is [514]

241 occasionally, but by no means universally used. This failure to use
night soil may vary from locality to locality, and from farmer to
514 farmer. In my opinion, it has not the importance it has in China
and Japan. Neither is night soil used as a food for pigs, though
this seems to have been the case in some parts of Okinawa as late as
231 the 1920's.[2] But feeding human faeces to pigs was not observed in
514 any village.

241 Normally in certain parts of Hatsuda, night soil is used, though
infrequently, in places near the house. It is not carried far. Appli-
514 cations are made to cultivated land and land not presently in use.
In the Nagamo area, it is occasionally used on sweet potatoes and
sugar cane. Night soil, gathered from the outside toilets, is
[247] allowed to dry out before being applied to fields. It is often
placed around ornamental plants. The fresh liquid form, carried on
[482] the shoulder in two buckets on either end of a long pole, may be ap-
plied directly to the fields, ladling out a little of the liquid around
[463] each plant. The professional collector of night soil is uncommon in
the areas visited. Only one instance was found. Two brothers, who
hired themselves out, cleaned the toilets for Yen 130 per day, plus
meals. They spread the night soil on the owner's fields. These two
brothers served the Gushichan area.

In Hanashiro, night soil is used occasionally, and then, it was said, only by the old. Its main use was on sugar cane. As a general rule, in all the villages, night soil is most frequently used around plants already growing and around each plant individually, rather than mixing it with the soil when the field is being prepared. Its use on rice fields was not observed.

The sparing use of night soil is indicated also by the in-
frequency with which one meets its characteristic odor in the country-
side. An observation of a traveller, almost 100 years ago, lends some
credence to the thought that night soil has not been extensively used
[114] in Okinawa. "How-night-soil is disposed of is not known; certainly
it does not obtrude itself on the senses, as it does in China, nor is it
applied in the same way."[3] In Hanashiro, the decline in use since the
[177] war was ascribed to American influences: the dangers to health, and
the increased availability of artificial fertilizers.

241 (5) Commercial fertilisers. These are now substantial proportions of the expenditures of an Okinawan farmer. These fertilizers generally are broadcast over the rice and dry crop lands. The writers of a

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[2] Richard Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, as cited, 135.

[3] Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, II, 35. The author was Dr. Green.

The writers of a recent report on Okinawan economy have emphasised that the combination of generally poor soils, the rapid decomposition of organic matter in a near tropical climate, and excessive leaching make the problem of fertilization very difficult--[4] to say nothing of the trace elements. 291 [119]

(6) Other substances are used for fertilizers. In Hatsuda the barber gathers the cuttings from the luxuriant hair of his clients and places them around his sugar cane--and recommends them highly. Acacia leaves are also used for this purpose here. Leaves and miscellaneous plants are often considered to be especially good fertilizers. [305] [302] [824]

Crop rotation (rinsaku) practices differ by district. In the Hanashiro area, the sugar cane, soy bean, and sweet potato (or vegetable), sugar cane rotation is common. Rotation of paddy with another crop does not occur. Rice succeeds rice in the double cropping system here. In Hatsuda, a common rotation is either (1) the sweet potato, soy beans (or grain, millet, or green peas) and the sweet potato, or (2) the soy bean, sweet potato, grain (barley or millet) rotation. Here rice is not rotated with other crops. (This however does occur in Okinawa).

Simple Rotations
Hanashiro and Nagamo

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One Year

After the sweet potato harvest, the plot is planted in soybeans in the first lunar month.

The soybeans are harvested in the fifth lunar month.

Sweet potatoes follow the soybeans in the sixth lunar month

or

Vegetables alternating with the sweet potato for a year.

Two Years

Sugar cane is sown in the sixth lunar month.

Harvested two years hence, followed by ordinary beans or vegetables, again followed by cane.

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[4] Agricultural and economic reconstruction in the Ryukyus. A report. Agricultural mission to the Ryukyus, Nov. 1949, 46-47.

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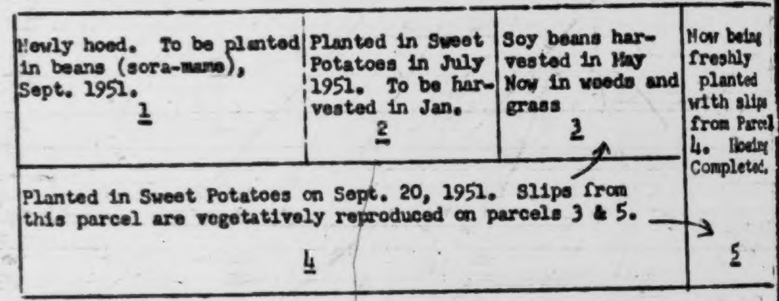
[423]

These illustrations, while suggesting the common practice, are oversimplified. Rotation is more complicated because all of a farmer's scattered holdings may be involved in an overall rotation, and one plot may serve several different purposes. In the following example of a plot divided up into five small parcels, the planting and transplanting of the sweet potato is part of the mechanism of rotation:

Time: September 1951



Newly hoed. To be planted in beans (sora-mame), Sept. 1951.
1

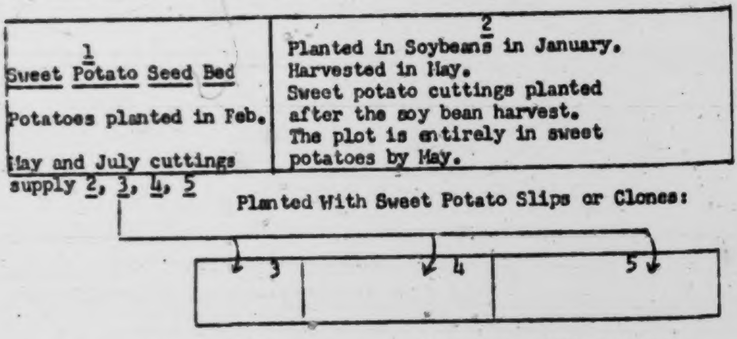
Planted in Sweet Potatoes in July 1951. To be harvested in Jan.
2

Soy beans harvested in May Now in weeds and grass
3

Now being freshly planted with slips from Parcel 4. Hoeing Completed.
5

Planted in Sweet Potatoes on Sept. 20, 1951. Slips from this parcel are vegetatively reproduced on parcels 3 & 5.
4

In the following illustration, sweet potatoes and beans provide rotation both of crop and of field:



1
Sweet Potato Seed Bed
Potatoes planted in Feb.
May and July cuttings supply 2, 3, 4, 5

2
Planted in Soybeans in January.
Harvested in May.
Sweet potato cuttings planted after the soy bean harvest.
The plot is entirely in sweet potatoes by May.

Planted With Sweet Potato Slips or Clones:

A crop rotation with sugar cane depends on whether it is a spring (harue) or a summer (natsue). In the spring planting, lunar calendar:

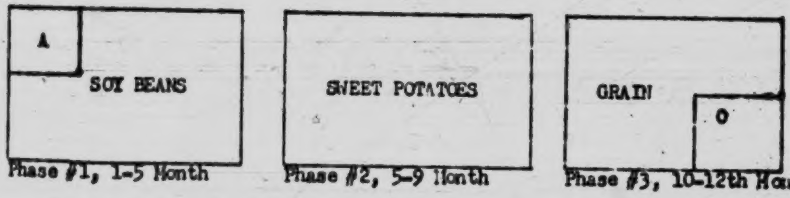
> Sugar cane cuttings are planted in the second month, to be harvested one year later. At that harvest, the plants are not torn out, but the stubs are allowed to sprout (the stubble or ratoon crop), the

resulting growth being harvested in the second or third lunar month one year hence. After this second cane harvest, the plant is torn [illegible] and soy beans or sweet potatoes are grown. This is a two year period for the cane, followed by one year in vegetables or other crops.

In the summer planting, lunar calendar:

> Cane cuttings are planted in the seventh month. This crop is harvested about a year and a half later, in the twelfth lunar month of the following year, then to be planted in soy beans or sweet potatoes.

In Matsuda, crop rotation is confined to crops other than rice. The rotation, as in the south, centers around the sweet potato, sugar cane, vegetables and grains. The rotation in a parcel of land may be the sweet potato, then the soy bean, green peas, or a grain such as barley, wheat, or millet, followed by the sweet potato. In this rotation, small segments of land are reserved for sweet potato seed beds. When they are not used for this purpose, they may be left fallow for about three months of the year. The following diagram shows the same plot of land at three different times of the year:



Phase #1, 1-5 Month   Phase #2, 5-9 Month   Phase #3, 10-12th Month

In phase 1, the plot is planted to soy beans. A small corner of this plot (A), is devoted to a sweet potato bed. After the soy beans are harvested, slips from the plants in the sweet potato bed are transplanted and the whole parcel is in sweet potatoes. After the sweet potato harvest, the plot is put in a grain, perhaps millet, or barley, leaving a small plot to be hoed and prepared with composts, manures, or plant residues for another sweet potato bed.

Sugar cane is used in Matsuda crop rotations in two ways:

Rotation #1, Matsuda

First year, 2nd month	Spring growth cane slips, often the ratoon crop)
11th month	Harvest sugar cane, plant soy beans
Second year, 4th month	Harvest soy beans, plant sweet potatoes
9th month	Harvest sweet potato, plant grain or vegetables.

Rotation #2, Matsuda

242 First year, ninth month: Autumn planting of sugar cane
221 Second year, twelfth month: Harvest of sugar cane. Followed
by: Soy bean, sweet potato, or vegetables.

311 Land is seldom allowed to lie fallow intentionally for any
length of time. At any one time of the year, a farmer may have idle
423 land for which there may be a variety of reasons. He may have other
tasks and be unable to cultivate all his land, or have no need of
doing so, or some of his land may be so poor that he will not cultivate it unless necessary. Much depends on the individual farmer
and his holdings. The village records indicate that in Hanashiro
97.2% of the rice and 83.1% of the dry crop land is under cultivation.
From the preceding discussion of land classification, it is clear
that many parcels are of marginal quality, and these areas may be
left uncultivated, at least part of the year. During the post-war
[426] period there has been some informal lending of land, free of rent,
to friends and neighbors, if the farmer is not using it himself.

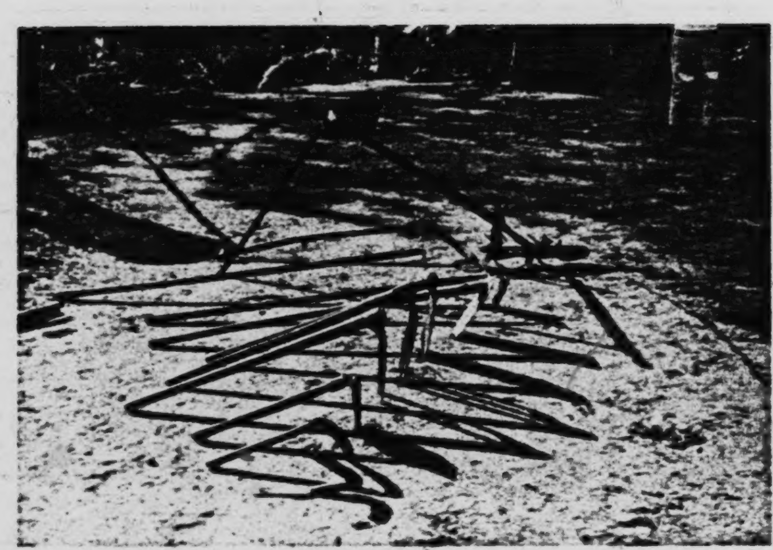
241 Manual labor with hand tools is the dominant method of cultivation. Domestic animals are not uncommon, but their use in farming
[231] is minor. The war increased the dependence on manual labor through the
loss of domestic animals. Only cattle are now used in rice cultiva-
[227] tion for plowing and harrowing and this is infrequent. The man or
woman and the hoe are far more common. Crops are carried from the
[482] fields by human labor. The basket or the straw container, or the
tied rice sheaves on either end of a pole over the shoulder, and not
[415] horse carts, push carts, or wheel barrows are the main means of
transport from field to courtyard. The barefooted farmer, with his
[493] hoe and a pole or a basket does the greatest part of the work. The
common tools of agriculture are hand tools and adapted to the intensive cultivation which so often has more properly been called the
work of a gardener rather than that of a farmer.

412 The basic all purpose tool is the solid bladed hoe. The hoe,
since deep cuts are possible with its heavy blade, takes the place of
the plow. The hoe also replaces the spade, and even the rake, for it
can be used to break up and smooth the soil. A poorer farmer may lack
[434] many of the tools in the following list, but he will have two or
three of the solid bladed hoes.

The accompanying illustration shows the most common agricultural tools:

1. The hera, a spatula or trowel, used for transplanting tops of the sweet potato. Its wooden hand grip curves toward the end of the tool. The hera is also used as a scraper to remove brown sugar from the sides of the cooking pans during the sugar making season.

2. The kama, a small sickle. Next to the hoe, it is the most



Agricultural Tools

From front to rear:

The hara, a spatula or trowel
The kama, a small sickle
A small sharp pointed hoe
The futamata, a two pronged hoe
The mitsumata, a three pronged hoe
The kuwa, the all purpose hoe
Another hoe, long handled
A heart shaped hoe
A common rake
A hand rice cultivator (propped up
in back)
An ordinary pitchfork

common and indispensable tool. It has many uses, including cutting rice stalks at harvest, brush, and sweet potato tops. 412

3. A small sharp pointed hoe, with a short handle, used in sweet potato planting.

4. A two pronged hoe, the futamata, used mostly with sweet potatoes. The two pronged hoe is used in softer soils. It is much more common in Matsuda than in the southern villages.

5. The three pronged hoe, the mutsumata, also used in sweet potato cultivation and in digging. These prongs, with skilful use, do not cut the potato. It is also much more common in Matsuda than in Hanashiro or Nagamo.

6. The common all purpose hoe (kuwa). It has a thick, solid, wide blade. The handle (about 3 1/2 feet long) is stout. The hoe is much sturdier than the ordinary American garden hoe.

7. Another hoe, longer and with a sharper angle between the handle and the blade. It has a variety of uses.

8. A long handled hoe with a heart shaped blade. It is used for making furrows.

9. An ordinary rake.

10. A cultivator and weeding tool for rice paddies. (The pole in back near the handle of the pitchfork is a prop to hold the tool upright for the picture). Only the more prosperous farmers possess this tool. Rice weeding is done almost entirely by hand. [434]

11. An ordinary pitchfork.

12. The plow (suki) 407

13. The harrow (maguwa), and

14. The waku, a hexagonal wooden frame used in laying out a rice field for transplanting. The last three tools or devices, which are not shown in the picture, will be described under rice cultivation. 413

3

The Annual Work Cycle

The following charts show the annual work cycle by lunar month of two farmers, one in Hanashiro, one in Matsuda. The Western calendar equivalents for 1951-52 are shown below the lunar month. Because the lunar year is shorter, there is a gap, as the period actually covered is from February 6, 1951 to January 26, 1952. These materials are based on observation and conversation with the farmers concerned. 221 241 [805] [114]

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Planting dates, types of crops vary slightly from farmer to farmer, even in the same area, depending on individual caprice, the nature of the land, and the types of crops the farmer prefers.

ANNUAL AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES
of
TWO REPRESENTATIVE FARMERS OF HANASHIRO AND HATSUDA
By Lunar Month

	HANASHIRO	HATSUDA
FIRST MONTH (Feb 6-Mar 7)	Work begins on 3d day. On 4th and fifth day plant soy beans. Planting may continue next month. Make Sugar. Transplant rice from seeds sown in seed bed in 11th month. Weeding of soy beans.	Work day begins 3d day after New Years. From 4th or 5th until 20-25th prepare soil for soy beans. Sow rice in seed bed. Make sugar in leisure hours.
SECOND MONTH (Mar 8-Apr 5)	Soy bean planting continues if necessary. Sugar making continues. Planting of sweet potatoes, using slips or tops of plants. Plant cucumbers, Chinese lettuce (hakusai) Sow sugar cane cuttings, slant-wise or part out of the ground. Harvest small patch of Irish potatoes.	Soy bean planting stops about middle of the month. Transplanting of rice from seed bed begins. Weeding and care of soy beans.
THIRD MONTH (Apr 6-May 5)	In the main, a continuation of second month activities. Planting sweet potato bed. Spring planting of sugar cane continues. Weed rice field by hand.	Plant the sweet potato in seed bed for future slips. Planting season lasts until the 25th. Weed rice fields. Sowing of sugar cane--horizontal plant--about middle of the month.
FOURTH MONTH (May 6-June 4)	Spring planting of sugar cane continues. Usually finished early part of this month. Continue weeding rice fields. Sow a little dasheen, the satoimo, like taro.	Weeding of rice fields completed about middle of the month. After rain, sow sweet potato, through the 5th month. Sown by slips or transplants. Finishing up weeding of rice plants.

	HAMASHIRO	MATSUDA
FIFTH MONTH (June 5-July 3)	This and succeeding month the busiest of the year. Harvesting and threshing of soy beans. Plant sweet potato slips.	Busiest month continuing through the sixth month. Soy bean harvest. Plots formerly occupied by soy beans put in sweet potato slips which were sown in the 4th month. Heaviest sweet potato planting of the year.
SIXTH MONTH (July 4-Aug 2)	This and the previous month the busiest time of the year. Continue with soy bean harvest if required. Harvest of red beans, kidney beans (ingenmame). Plant sweet potato slips. Beginning of summer planting of sugar cane which continues until the 8th month. The rice harvest. Rice threshing. Begin digging up the wet and drained fields. Beginning of transplanting preparations.	This and the previous month the busiest time of the year. Sweet potato planting. Rice harvest begins about 10th of the month. Rice threshing with the treadle thresher (dakkoki). Rice land with cropped plants turned under. From 10-20th preoccupation with rice. Replanting of rice seed beds after testing. From 20th to 30th rice planting. Other rice lands fertilized, prepared for transplants. Beginning of transplanting.
SEVENTH MONTH (Aug 3-31)	Planting of rice in the seed bed. Beginning of transplanting of rice shoots from seed bed (about 20 days for growth). Continues through 8th month.	Transplanting rice continues until the 10th. Plant sugar cane. Plant sugar cane slips if there is rain. Begin weeding rice fields about the 10th.
EIGHTH MONTH (Sep 1-30)	Plant onions, tomatoes, carrots, lettuce. Plant wheat (komugi), barley (ōmugi), and naked barley (hadaka mugi). Plant sweet potato slips. Continue and complete the rice transplanting. Begin weeding the rice plants.	Rice field weeding continues. Done three times in three weeks until about the 15th. Plant sweet potato slips if sufficient rain.
NINTH MONTH (Oct 1-29)	Sow horse beans (sora-mame) and barley	If rain, sow sweet potato slips, sow wheat, radishes, tomatoes, leafy vegetables (ha no yasai) and Chinese cabbage (hakusai)

	HANASHIRO	MATSUDA
TENTH MONTH (Oct 30-Nov 28)		
221 241	Possible beginning of second rice harvest, though this is early. Planting rice in seed bed. Sow sweet potato slips.	Sow peas (endō-mame) and beans. Plant sweet potato slips if rain. Sow giant radish (daikon), tomatoes, barley. Weeding of radishes, and vegetables planted previous month until the 25th. Rice cutting begins.
ELEVENTH MONTH (Nov 29-Dec 27)		
	Continuation of the rice harvest. Threshing and milling. Planting of sugar cane, slantwise. Sow cabbage seed. Rice seed planting begins, or continues if begun in the 10th month.	Rice cutting and harvest. Threshing and milling. Rice fields dug up. Preparation of new fields.
TWELFTH MONTH (Dec 28-Jan 26)		
	Sugar making. Sow Irish potatoes (bareisho) but in small quantities	Continue digging up rice fields. Rice sown in seed beds after seed testing. Sugar making may begin.

YEAR ROUND ACTIVITIES

Sweet Potato Planting, Transplanting and Harvesting continues throughout the year, depending on time and distribution of rainfall.

4

Rice Cultivation

843 Growing rice is a most exacting task. The period from the time the seed bed is prepared until the final milling is one of tedious work and continuous apprehension. The reaction of Okinawan farmers to rice cultivation perhaps was best summed up by a Matsuda farmer who said, "Everyone dislikes the work, but rice is delicious."

[461]
[262]

Assuming that the field is already in existence, the cultivation of rice may be divided into the following stages: (1) preparation and laying out of the seed bed, (2) selection of the seed, (3) transplanting of the young shoots from the seed beds to the paddy field, (4) the care of rice until its maturity, (5) the harvest, (6) threshing, milling, and hulling, (7) the uses of rice and its byproducts, and (8) types and preferences of rice. 243

The preparation and laying out of the seed bed. A seed bed (naidoko) is a plot of first grade land, well watered, especially chosen for this purpose. It is very small in area, often around 15 tsubo, or about 540 square feet. The seed bed also may be a portion of a larger field set apart for seedlings. In this case, small boundaries are made by earthen walls, apertures left for water to flow in and out, and the little plot is then prepared for the seedlings. Considerable care is taken in the preparation of the seed bed. The soil here must be finer and more carefully worked than the paddy field, since it receives the rice seed, not the seedlings. The soil is painstakingly worked, and, with the water added, becomes a thick smooth mud. Commercial fertilizers, composts, and less commonly, night soil are then applied. After the seed is sown, water, perhaps 2 1/2 inches deep is allowed in the bed. During germination, a slow steady irrigation, a washing by new water is maintained by controlling the water trickling in and out of the openings on either side of the field.

The selection of the seed. The seed is taken from the harvest immediately preceding. After fall harvest around December, the rice fields are dug to prepare for the new planting in January or February. The seed used from this crop is tested in one of two ways.

In Matsuda, it is common for a farmer to fetch a bucketful of sea water. To this he adds a little more salt until the density of the water is sufficient to float an egg. The rice seed is put in the water. The light and undesirable grains rise to the surface. This salt water density method is apparently very old and originally came from China.

Another method, based on the same assumption that the lighter grains make undesirable seed, is used in both villages. The rice is tossed in a round, shallow, winnowing basket, and the breeze carries off the undesirable seeds to the chickens. In the summer planting the seed, after this testing, is ready to sow. In the fall and winter planting, there is one further step. After the seed has been selected by the winnowing or the density method, it is soaked in water for four or five days. Following this, it is removed from the water, put in a tub, and covered. Warm water is added, the mixture is stirred and allowed to stand for another four or five days. The water is then poured off and seed has begun to germinate. The seedlings can now be planted in the seed bed.

Transplanting the young shoots from the seed bed to the paddy field. 243 In the meantime, the paddy fields have been prepared. After the harvest, the field is drained. Small clumps of cropped rice stalks stick up two or three inches where they have been cut with the small sickle or bill knife. This stubble is turned over either by hoeing, the usual way, or

243 by plowing.

There is water on the land when it is dug and harrowed, but it is
not flooded. Not all rice land is harrowed. If it is not harrowed,
[407] the same result is accomplished by further hoeing. The harrow (maguwa
in Japanese, maga in Okinawan) is partly a home made tool and looks
like a large clumsily constructed rake. Essentially it is a piece of
timber with a row of strong spikes. This timber ordinarily is made of
pine, but other woods may be used. Twelve nails, spaced at about two
[414] inch intervals, are driven into the board. These nails or spikes,
about 8 sun (almost 10 inches long), square at the head, and with a
[326] sharp point, are made by a blacksmith for about Yen 20 each. The
[231] harrow is drawn by cattle; two shafts, with a yoke over the animal's
head complete the simple implement. The plow is used in the preparation
[435] of the field, but far more commonly, the work is done with a hoe.

In the fall and winter planting of rice, the seedlings remain in the seed bed for about 40 days. In the summer, the period is only 20 days and may be less. The winter shoots are from 7-8 inches long, the summer shoots from 4-7 inches. The length is important, for if the seedlings are too long, losses in transplanting will, according to Hanashiro farmers, increase to almost half. In rare instances, due to adverse conditions, seedlings in the seed bed reach 15-20 inches in length. The losses here are said to be considerable in transplanting.

[462] The hoeing or the plowing and harrowing of a field is almost exclusively done by men. It is tiring, uncomfortable, and heavy work. It is much more common to see women hoeing the dry crop land. But transplanting is done by men, women, and the older children. A handful of seedlings in the bed is pulled out and bound with straw, grass, or a rush. There is a knack in pulling these out. They must be jerked quickly, but dexterously to avoid root damage. The bundle is tossed either into a central place or into the paddy field to be planted, if it is adjoining. In the latter case, the bunches are tossed to various parts of the paddy.

243 804 The seedlings are generally set out in rows. For this purpose, a string with small markers like buttons (shirushi) is used. These are 7 sun (about 8.4 inches) apart. Both the rows and the hills are 7 sun apart. Differences between rows and hills may vary considerably. In these localities, the distances were generally the same. The string is stretched from one end of the row to the other. Each seedling is planted at the interval indicated by the marker on the string. This method of planting is not universal. When there is little time, the seedlings might be scatter planted.

243 804 413 Another method of obtaining the checker-board pattern is by means of a home made hexagonal frame, the waku (literally, a reel or a frame). Each of the six sides is divided into nine squares, 7 sun on the side. The overall length is over six feet. The frame is set along the outside border, or at any desired starting point. When in place, the

bottom will imprint nine squares on the wet soil, and as it is turned 243
another nine will be imprinted so that when continued the field is laid 804
out in tiny squares. Three or four seedlings are planted on the corners 413
of the square made by the waku.

Men operate the frame. As they turn it, making the square pattern [462]
on the damp soil, women follow behind with the seedlings. The frame has
been in use in Matsuda for about fifteen years. An Okinawan agricultural
school student is said to have invented it. It was not used in the [176]
southern villages studied, an interesting sidelight on the slowness of
innovation even on a small island like Okinawa, for many farmers in the [184]
south expressed surprise at its use and had not heard of it. The device
is helpful to those with large plots. In Matsuda, there are not many [426]
of these frames, but borrowing is frequent.

In contrast with recent introductions, such as the universal 243
treadle thresher, the frame seems to be confined to one geographic area. 804
The reason for this may be that the use of the thresher was actively
encouraged by the Japanese as a successful time and labor saving device, [407]
while the frame was not similarly publicized.

Another method, a more traditional one, is to use a piece of wood
the same length as the waku with seven little knobs and the two ends to
give the nine spaces. This is the jiyogi. A piece of string stretched
from one end of the field to the other is used to get a straight line
along a row. When the planting has taken place along one row, the
jiyogi is used to measure off one space between rows, the guide line is
moved over and the operation repeated. This achieves the same purpose
as the frame or the string with the markers. Men are more likely to [462]
handle these operations, the women following along with the trans-
planting. But the division of labor is by no means hard and fast.

Care of rice until its maturity. Rice set out in squares is 243
easier to cultivate, weed, and harvest. During its growth, it will be
necessary occasionally to loosen the soil or to break up clods which
escaped the initial working. There may be some temporary drainage of
water off the fields at these times.

Weeding rice is usually done by hand, though once in a while a farmer has a hand cultivator. Weeding the rice field is an unrelenting job which is done about once a week. More attention is given to this task when the plants are younger. Weeding is worked in with other daily chores, and all members of the family may participate.

The rice is now allowed to grow with the hope that strong winds or a typhoon will not blow over the slender shoots or submerge them. If the rice is submerged when the shoots are still fairly young, they will gradually right themselves. Farmers say that attempting to upright the plants by hand will not work. The quality of rice once submerged is poor and sometimes half the rice in the plot is lost. If the submersion occurs when the plants are near maturity and the stalks are 20 or 25

243 inches high, the bottom of the paddy becomes a tangled mass. Farmers walk disconsolately away from a field like this, often without even attempting to harvest the crop. The seeds once soaked will produce inferior rice. In this case, the farmer may turn the whole crop under or salvage some for pig food. The growing of rice is one long gamble with the wind and with typhoons, and there is seldom a year in which some rice is not destroyed.

[221] *The harvest.* The cutting of rice at harvest time, July and
November in the western calendar, is done in a uniform manner. (Harvest times may vary somewhat from place to place). A bunch of the
long stalks is grasped in one hand and cut off with the small sickle.
A stubble of a few inches is left in the field. The sheaves are tied
up with a piece of rice straw and thrown in piles. The commonest and
[482] most convenient way of carrying the sheaves from the field is to tie
several together. A large bundle of these is carried on either end
of a pole which rests on the shoulder. The ends of the pole are cut
like tenons and stuck in the bundles below the binding. The rice is
carried to the courtyard to be threshed. If necessary, it will be
allowed to dry for a few days.

243
407 *Threshing, hulling, and milling.* Rice is threshed either in the courtyard of the home or in a flat place near the house. During rice harvest, the threshing machines can be heard all over the village, the noise suggesting the sounds of cars on a railroad track, heard from a distance. The device now universally used for threshing rice is the *dakkoki*.

This has a foot treadle, similar to an old fashioned sewing machine. Working the treadle up and down causes a drum, set at about waist length, to revolve. This drum has a series of wires set in rows and bent over, appearing like large staples. These staples are parallel with the line of rotation of the drum.

A conveniently handled bunch of stalks (*wara*) is held on the revolving drum, the rice seeds touch the staples, which knock the kernels
off. They drop to the floor of the device. Often the top has a canvas
cover to catch the flying rice kernels and the machines is set in the
middle of a large piece of canvas so that the grain can easily be re-
[462] covered. Both men and women do this work, although women seem to do
more of it. They are free to work while at home, alternating the task
with other chores. They keep up with the man and the elder children
who are carrying the rice bundles in from the fields. After threshing,
rice straw is thrown aside. It has many subsequent uses.

[177] The *dakkoki*, an introduction from Japan, is new in Okinawa. In Hanashiro it has been used scarcely 15 years. Prior to this, more primitive methods were used which can still be observed in Matsuda today. These old methods are no longer important, but they are of interest because they were used, instead of the treadle thresher, up to pre-war times.

One of these, the shimba (nnihija in Okinawan) is essentially 243 a concave forked piece of metal set on a frame, which in turn rests on four props set up in sawbuck fashion. The rice sheaves are drawn 407 through the teeth, causing the kernels to drop below. The sawbuck may be any desired height. Usually the top of the fork is waist level. The only significance of the shimba today is that it provides [887] diversion and occupation for the old women, many of whom are too weak or too unsteady to operate the treadle thresher. The same is true of an even simpler device for threshing. Two short pieces of bamboo, or any piece of round wood, a little longer and with a slightly greater diameter than a pair of chopsticks, are loosely tied together on one end with straw or a strong blade of grass. The tied ends of the two sticks are held in the right hand, leaving the free ends to strip off the rice kernels from the straw. This labor is done by very old women. Age is no deterrent to work as long as people are able to get around. But, as in the south, the treadle thresher is universally used. This device was widely distributed by the Japanese agricultural [177] specialists of the government throughout the empire in the years immediately before the war. In Matsuda, it is also thought to be about 15 years since its introduction.

As in Japan, from which the terms were borrowed, rice in various 824 stages of cultivation and processing is known by different names. 192 Rice in the hull is momei; unpolished rice is genmei, and polished rice is hakumei. Rice stalks are known as wara.

Hulling and polishing rice by machinery are also new in 256 Okinawan villages. In Hanashiro, those machines driven by an open belt are about ten years old. A hand mill, the shiriushi, to be described shortly, was in general use for polishing rice up to 1940.

At present everyone, no matter how poor, pays for hulling and polishing of his rice. The mill owner in Hanashiro estimated that the [511] machinery processed in ten minutes the amount of rice that formerly took a day to hull and polish by hand. Poor families do not try to effect savings by hand work. They pay the fee, sell the polished rice, [262] and eat sweet potatoes.

Unpolished rice is disliked and is never eaten. It is described as hard and bitter in taste. The machinery in a rice mill varies from place to place in quality and modernity. The mill (seimaisho) has two machines: a hulling machine (momitsuriki) and a polishing machine (seimaiki). One simple type of a hulling machine is an endless chain type of mechanism. The rice is put in little buckets on the chain which carry it to rubber layers. As the rice is forced through the layers, the hulls are cracked and pinched off, and are then blown out on a pile in back. After being hulled, the rice goes through the shaft of the milling machine. The shaft housing is grooved. As the shaft revolves, it polishes the rice which is going through it. The shaft also gets heated, and this makes the polishing easier. In the older machine in Hanashiro, the rice was put through the shaft ten times

256 until the desired white shade was obtained. After the milling, the
rice is quite warm, and both the chaff and the rice have an odor similar
to brewer's yeast.

[462] Women carry the rice to the mill. It is heaped up in baskets set
[482] on their heads. Rice straw or a braid of rice stalks is placed over
the small towel which rests directly on the head. On this the woman
[415] sets the basket with its rice. When the milling is over, the women
pick up a handful, blow off the chaff, inspect the rice for wholeness
and whiteness, and then put it in a large gunny sack. The chaff is
placed in a smaller one. Hulls, occasionally taken, are usually left
at the mill to accumulate in a pile outside the mill and there, at
[824] frequent intervals, are burned. Sometimes the hulls or the ashes are
taken for fertilizer.

Bringing rice for milling is a social occasion for the women.
[521] They often have a child on their back. While waiting for their rice to
be hulled and milled, they exchange greetings and news with their
neighbors or with women from adjoining villages.

As a result of the war, quality of machinery for rice milling
[727] differs with villages. Most now have access to a mill. The machinery
at Matsuda, being more efficient than the older machines at Hanashiro
is able to polish the rice satisfactorily after going through the mill
three times. These mills are very busy during the harvest seasons.

252 There are also survivals of older methods of hulling and polishing
rice. These are no longer used, though many of the old have not lost
their skill. Before machine polishing was introduced, the hulls were
[412] removed by pounding the rice in a mortar, usually with a long bamboo
pole narrowed in the center for a grip. After the hulls were removed,
the rice was put through a quern, or a mill known as a shiriushi. This
has two working parts: a base about a foot in diameter and perhaps a
foot in height. It looks like a smoothed off log. In the center,
there is a wooden pin, perhaps 1 1/2 feet long. Over this part, which
looks like an upright piece of a log with a rolling pin stuck in its
center, the upper part, made of wood and of the same diameter is fitted.
A bar across the inside of the top of the upper part has a hole for the
pin. On the outside, wooden plugs provide places for attaching ropes.
[462] These are pulled back and forth by women sitting opposite one another.
The rice is poured in at the top, the quern is moved first clock- and
then counterclockwise, the rice coming out in the rough crevice where
the two pieces join. The rice is put through the quern as many times
as is necessary to effect the polishing. In some querns, the inside of
the upper part is grooved to quicken the polishing.

In polishing rice in this way, the mill is placed on a mat and the rice is gathered up periodically and put in baskets. It is then winnowed by tossing in a flat basket. Many of the farmers in the villages still have a *shiriushi* in their sheds, but it is seldom used.

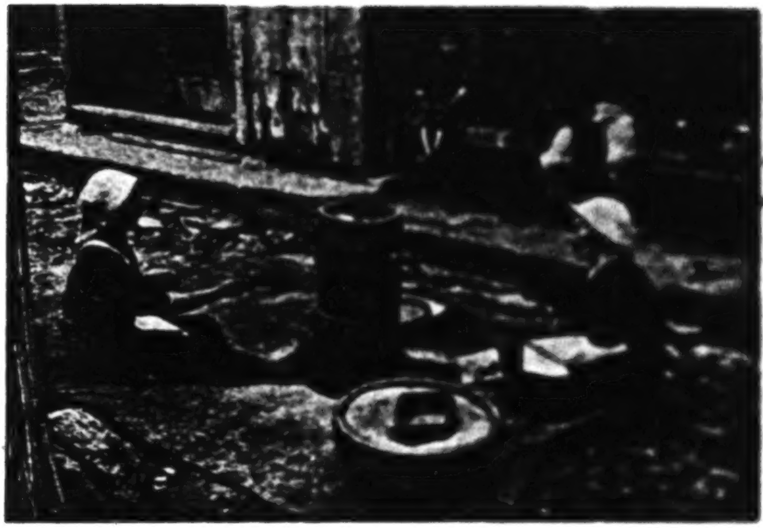
Rice may also be polished by the use of rude wooden mallets. 252
These have a handle about 3 feet long and a head about 1 1/2 feet
long. Rice is placed in a mortar with straw on top. It is pounded, [412]
often by two or three women swinging alternately. After the hulls
are removed, the rice is winnowed, and put back in the mortar until
a rough polish is secured.

Uses of rice. Every part of the rice plant has a use. The 824
stubble, left in the ground, becomes a part of next season's fertilizer.
The chaff and waste dust (nuka) is saved for pigs, cows, and other
domestic animals. The hulls often are used for fertilizer, before or
after burning. Rice straw has a variety of uses. The most frequent
and important of these is for making rope.

After threshing, the straw is dried two or three days. Three
or four stalks of about the same length are taken and rolled between
the palms. The lower palm, usually the left, is open and up. The [283]
right palm rolls the straw into a twist. As the rope grows, new
stalks are inserted one at a time, and, when needed, a new length
of straw is added. This is not a strong rope, but it has a variety
of uses, such as tying down the grass thatch to the roof poles,
children's swings, and clothes lines. Mats and pads shaped like a
life saver and used to set the sugar pots on after the sugar has been [285]
boiled, are made out of rice straw. Another use is in the making of
the ōda (Okinawan). This is a mesh about one foot wide and two feet
long. There are loops on each corner. The end of a pole may be in-
serted in these loops when gathered together. The pole is carried [482]
over the shoulder, and sweet potatoes, straw, or other articles may be
easily transported. Simple brooms without a handle, little more than [417]
a bunch of straw tied together in three places are also made of rice
straw. Twisting and braiding rice straw is likely to be rainy day
work. These articles are most often made twice in the year, corres-
ponding with the harvests.

At typhoon times, if rice is not completely destroyed, the [731]
damaged rice may be used for pig food. The preparation of this rice [231]
is women's work. The rice is put in a mortar and pounded with a
mallet in the manner already described, although a single operator [462]
usually does the work.

Types and preferences. As a general rule, the selection of 243
varieties of rice for planting depends on taste, the nature of the
soils, and individual judgment of the expected yield of each type.
In Matsuda, it is estimated that about one half of the rice is the
Formosan variety, Taichu 65 (Taichu rokujugo), in Okinawa known as
horai. Another variety, Kunigami #1 (Kunigami ichigo) represents about
one-fourth of the crop. Mochigome (akaho) takes up about another one- [262]
fourth. This glutinous rice has a brown reddish rust colored kernel
and is used for rice cakes. A fourth variety, horai-mochimai, is also
well liked. No black rice is grown here.



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Matsuda. Polishing rice with a hand mill. This is a posed picture, but rice was polished this way up to shortly before the war. The grass mat prevents wastage. On the left is some Yambaru bamboo. The women are barefooted. The towel-like headdress is not uncommon.

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In addition to these varieties, cultivated locally, imported 439
rice is distributed through the import stores. These rices generally 262
are from Egypt, Siam, and Burma. They are not well liked and are
considered to be tough (katai). Whether this is because the variety [443]
itself is disliked or because the imports were of a poor quality is
hard to say, but Egyptian, Siamese, and Burmese rice are unfavorably
compared with Japanese, Formosan, or the locally grown products.
Okinawans are very sensitive to the types of rice. There is no such
thing as "rice." Long habituation and fondness for special kinds have
induced tastes and preferences which each villager is quick to express.

In Hanashiro, the main type of rice planted is also the Taichu 65, 243
a variety which originated in Formosa, and is generally preferred. The 262
red variety, mochigome, does not do well here, according to local
farmers, and just a little is grown. Mochigome (literally, rice-cake
rice) is used in making the doughy and gummy rice cakes.

5

The Sweet Potato

The cultivation of the sweet potato (satsuma imo) is a much 244
simpler undertaking than rice culture. Fields are prepared by hand
hoeing. The plow and the harrow are not used. In sweet potato cultivation, seed potatoes are first planted in a small plot. This furnishes
slips or transplants for other fields. Slips are multiplied by using
the tops of one field to plant another. Propagation thus is by clones, [262]
and this vegetatively reproduced plant is the mainstay of the diet.

The potato seed bed, well hoed and fertilized, is generally
planted in the spring. The tops to be used as slips (kasura) are cut
off and planted in rows. Practice has brought deftness in this transplanting. A small amount of soil is lifted up by the spatula, (hera),
and held so that an opening rather than a hole appears. The slip is
shoved into the aperture and quickly pressed down by the left heel, as
the farmer moves to the next planting.[5] Few tools are used in the
cultivation of the sweet potato. Only the hoe and the spatula are [412]
really needed. Occasionally one finds a special hoe with a sharp angle
between the blade and handle or a heart shaped hoe with a long handle.
In the Hanashiro and Nagamo areas, the solid bladed hoe is the commonest
tool. Two and three pronged hoes are less often used because of the
hardness of the soil.

The cultivation of the sweet potato, as we have said, is a year [221]
round operation, though planting may slacken off during the winter
months.

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[5] Methods of cultivation have changed little in the past 100 years. [114]
The same operation is described in Hawks, Perry's expedition to
Japan, II, 31-32.

244 months. The amount of sweet potatoes grown is not closely related to
[132] the season. It depends much more on rainfall.

The effects of typhoons on the plant are most noticeable after
[131] transplanting. Salt water spray shrivels the transplants up and they
die without developing. These conditions are more noticeable near the
[131] seashore in areas like Nagamo that lack trees and tidewater shelters.

824 Like rice, all of the sweet potato plant is used. Plant residues
are turned under to fertilize the soil. This turning under of the
vines or their use in composts is a doubtful blessing if the plants
are diseased. The good potatoes are reserved for human consumption.
[231] The poor or the diseased ones are mashed up in a stone mortar with a
long pole, used like a pestle, for pig and goat food. Besides using
the tops as slips, women constantly cut them off for fresh greens for
the pigs. The sweet potato is the basic food because it is cheap,
[262] can be grown the year round in lowlands and uplands, and can be cultivated by all members of the family. As pig food, it is a means of
inexpensively raising animals which later have cash value. The
[462] feeding and care of pigs is usually one of the incidental chores of
women.

244 The varieties most commonly found in these Okinawan villages
184 are the Okinawan #100 (Okinawan no hyakugo) and varieties known
locally as the bento, a small round tuber, and the bokuto. The
two chief differences between the northern and southern villages
in cultivating the sweet potato are (1) the two and three pronged
hoes are much more in evidence in the north. With practice, they
can be used advantageously in quickly weeding a plot while not cutting
the potato itself. (2) Matsuda appears to be less dependent on the
[262] sweet potato as a human food. The farmer here has more rice for himself and a greater proportion of his sweet potato crop goes for
[231] animal food.

6

The Planting of Sugar Cane and Sugar Making

249 Sugar cane (kibi) is grown on dry crop land, its rows often alternating on the same plot with the sweet potato. Cane may be started with cuttings, or it may be a second growth (ratoon) from the stubs of the old plant after it has been cut down for crushing. Cuttings may be purchased or selected plants from another planting are used. The slips are cut to leave three buds. These cuttings may be planted in three ways: (1) all horizontally, (2) horizontally with the cutting which comes from the topmost part of the stalk planted slantwise, or (3) all cuttings may be planted slanting.

The soil must be thoroughly worked with the ever present hoe. Plowing and harrowing are rarely done. The earth must be thoroughly fertilized. In addition, small amounts of compost may be placed under the cutting, and less often liquid night soil might be used.

In Matsuda, the stalk is cut up with a large knife. In Nagamo and Hanashiro, the oshikiriba (literally, push-cut-machine) is common. This is a device with a fixed blade, curving upward, on a stand. The cane is laid on the top of the blade. The handle is pressed down, forcing the cane stalk through the stationary blade. The use of this device is not universal. In the north, the hand cutting machine was a casualty of the war. 249 184

It is worth a slight digression here to add that, in considering various techniques as evidences of a departure from or adherence to traditional methods, the effects of the recent war must constantly be borne in mind. Sugar making is a good example. Primitive methods of making it today are a return, out of economic necessity, to earlier ways because of lack of capital to replace the former machinery. In Matsuda, the continued use of the horse drawn crushing rollers is not an expression of conservatism but of improvisation and return, in lieu of anything better, to old methods previously in use. Such devices as the oshikiriba are not good examples of this because it is not a decisively superior tool. A skilled farmer can cut the cane very efficiently with his knife. 178 727 249

Cane cuttings are made when the plant is about six months old and before it is mature. When year old plants are used for cuttings, only the top, or the youngest part is taken. The slip used may have two or three joints or buds. The length of the cutting apparently is determined by the number of joints. In Matsuda, slant planting seems to be favored because the plant is said to receive more water and to be able to withstand typhoons better. Flat planting is faster than slope planting. From one stalk usually five or six transplants are made. 249

There are two plantings of sugar cane, the spring (haru-ue) and the fall (akiue). Cane planted in the spring planting, from January to March, is harvested in April of the following year. In the fall planting from July to September, the cane is harvested a year from the following December. The cane of the fall planting is harvested but the stumps are allowed to sprout and grow again. Following this harvest, the whole plant is torn out and the field is replanted with slips. Though the ratoon crop could be continued longer, the general practice is to tear up the plants after the second growth. 249 221

The slips are about 8 sun (9.6 inches) long. In Hanashiro, they are generally planted flat with the exception of the slip nearest the top of the cane stalk, which is planted at about a 45° angle, the theory being that this part of the stalk has less vitality than the others. These slips are planted about 6-8 inches apart, 8-12 inches deep in rows about 4 feet apart. 249

In Hanashiro, at harvest time, the sugar cane is carried on the shoulder or by horsecart and stacked in piles outside the sugar mill. Though an effort is made to crush it immediately, cuttings may remain overnight or be stacked for a day or two outside the mill. The mill [482] [493]

249 [979] The mill is owned and operated as a co-operative enterprise of the village. This is the only co-operative phase of sugar growing and processing; all other operations, such as planting, harvesting, the actual making and marketing of the brown sugar are done by individual growers. In Hanashiro, the steps in sugar manufacture are (1) the crushing of the cane, (2) the boiling of the juice, (3) the handling, cooling, and packing of the brown sugar.

The cane is crushed by running it through a roller driven by a gas engine. Before the war, there were two of these rollers. The juice is channelled along small concrete conduits at the base of the roller to a cement hole in the floor. This hole is about two feet in diameter and one foot deep. From this storage hole, it is ladled into the pots for boiling. In pre-war days, the machinery was better, and instead of the small concrete hole, large vats were used. The place where the sugar is boiled adjoins the room in which the crushing is done. The dirt floor of this room has two levels: one on which the pots are placed, and under which there is a trench open at the lower level for the fuel. A man standing on the lower level, in back of the building, shovels or pitches fuel into the trench. Formerly coal [372] was used for this purpose; now plant residues and miscanthus are used. Grass is fed into the fire with a pointer on a long stick. Above this trench large pans about 4 feet in diameter are set in holes.

Pan 4 Pan 3 Pan 2 Pan 1

Trench Fire

The cane juice is first strained through a cloth or wire mesh to remove large pieces of stalk and leaves. Once in the pan, a little lime (*sekkai*) is added to bring out the impurities. The juice is brought to a boil and the mixture skimmed. The scum (*gomi*) is ladled off and put in a piece of fine cloth. This is tied up and allowed to drip in the pot and then added to the other syrup. The juice is boiled for about 2 1/2 hours. It is frequently stirred with a pan attached to a long sugar pole (*satonibu*). The syrup is tested by allowing drops to fall from a bamboo stick to see if it has been boiled down enough.

When the boiling is completed, the syrup is ladled out into a deep round pan, about 3 feet in diameter. It is placed on a grass mat whose center piece, made of rice straw, resembles a life saver. The bottom of the pan fits into the hole. This mat with the pot is dragged outside the building into the open.

The sugar is now vigorously stirred with long poles. The hardening syrup on the sides of the pan is scraped with the *hera*, the same tool used in the transplanting of the sweet potato tops. The mixture is stirred about 15 minutes with frequent testing. The harder layer is scraped off the sides, being mixed with the more liquid syrup in the bottom of the pan. These hardened scrapings speed up the hardening of the rest of the syrup. With the stirring finished, the sugar for contemplated home use is spread out in pans to harden. That intended for export is put in specially prepared boxes, furnished by Naha export firms, stencilled and ready for shipment. 249 [439] [415]

In Matsuda, the harvesting of the cane is the same as in Hanashiro. But the old Okinawan and Japanese method of crushing the cane is still used because the destroyed machinery has not been replaced. [727] The cane is crushed outside. Three large steel rollers are placed side by side in a frame, with gear teeth on the top meshing. A sweep about 30 feet long is attached to the center wheel.[6] A horse draws the sweep, revolving the wheels. The cane is fed into the left roller, caught as it comes out, and then fed back into the right roller. The juice is caught below. The residue (kibikasu) is left outside to dry to be used later for firewood. The juices which have been caught are taken in a low lying building with a tile roof, put in a large round pot (marunabe) or a rectangular pan (kikunabe). An open fire place is used for boiling the juice; the fire place is sunk in the ground and lined with stone, with a small opening at the bottom for putting in firewood. This mill is privately owned, the property of an association (kumiai) of about twenty men who rent it out for individual processing. [423] As in Hanashiro, sugar is the production of the individual small farmer from its first planting until its sale for export or for home use. [427]

7

Other Crops

The most important of the other crops commonly grown in the villages remain to be considered. 241

(1) Soy beans (daizu in Japanese, Glycine max Merrill). In all the villages, soy beans were planted once a year, sowing in the first or second month, and harvesting in the fifth month. The field is prepared by making furrows and putting a mixture of chopped up green grasses and some animal manure, or a commercial fertiliser, in the hole in which the seed is planted. The farmer then waits for rain. After rain, he plants the seeds about three feet apart in rows from one shaku five sun (about 18 inches) for very good land to one shaku one sun (about 13 inches) for usual land. The plant is harvested with the small sickle. The beans are threshed by a flail (gurumanbo in Okinawan). The residues are used either for fertiliser or fuel.

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[6] This device is also relatively unchanged since Perry's time. The only difference is in the wheels which were formerly of wood, geared together by mortise and tenon joints. Stone crushers were also used formerly. In Hanashiro, I saw one of these stone rollers lying in the yard of a villager. For sugar making operations in the 1850's, see Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 20, 30.

824 Soy beans have three main uses: soy sauce which is seldom made
[262] in the home, bean curd (*tōfu*) and *miso*, a bean paste, both always
home made. For this reason, soy beans are grown mostly for home use,
[432] with the surplus sold. In Hanashiro, where the surpluses are greater,
the beans may be sold in Naha, Shuri, or Itoman. Women do the selling,
[462] taking the beans to market on the buses, trucks, or three wheeled
[494] vehicles.

(2) Other types of beans such as the red dwarf bean (asuki)
241 (*Phaseolus angularis* Wight), the kidney bean (*ingen* in Japanese,
Phaseolus vulgaris L), the broad or horse bean (*soramame* in Japanese,
262 *Vician fabia* L), and peas (*endō* in Japanese, *Pisum sativum* L) are
grown for home use, usually in parcels which are closest to the house.

(3) The giant radish, (*daikon* in Japanese, *Raphanus sativus* L)
[263] is, after the soy bean, the most important of the minor crops grown
for home use. This is the vegetable most favored either as a condiment,
or as a side dish. It is eaten sliced raw, pickled, or fried in
[252] strips in soy sauce. When eaten boiled, its flavor resembles that of
a turnip.

(5) The pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo* L) called *nanka* or *kabocha*,
the latter name being derived from the word *Cambodia* from which the
pumpkin was introduced into Japan. They are harvested in summer, and
one crop a year, generally for home use, is grown. If the flesh
[231] becomes too ripe and turns reddish and sweet, it is not relished and
the pumpkin is fed to the pigs.

(6) The cucumber (*kiuri* in Japanese, *Cucumus sativus* L) is a
very minor crop. In none of the villages were they generally grown,
and then only for home use.

(7) The *hechima* or *tōgwa* in Japanese, *subui* in Okinawan.[7] This
is very large and cylindrical. In exceptional specimens, its outward
appearance is indistinguishable from the water melon. Its flesh is
[184] white. In the two southern villages, the *tōgwa* is grown very sparingly.
In Matsuda and the surrounding villages, it is more common. Here it is
used to fill in during times of food shortage. Some specimens I have
[221] seen weighed over 100 pounds. It is planted after lunar New Years,
harvested in the 6th or 7th lunar month, a period reaching from about
January to May. From April to July, when other vegetables are scarce,
[252] it is often used as a substitute. The flesh when boiled is rather
tasteless; it is commonly boiled and served with chunks of meat. The
tōgwa, in the northern villages, is often stored in dark cool places
[251] away from the sunlight, often under the house. If not cut open, the
melon can be saved for a year.

[7] I am not certain whether this is *Luffa cylindrica* Roem, *Luffa petola*, Ser, the Luffa sponge, rag gourd, etc., whose pulp disappears when ripe to be replaced by a web of fibres.

melon can be saved for a year. It is also served raw with vinegar and sugar dressing, often mixed with another vegetable to make a salad called namasugwa in Okinawan. 291 262 [252]

(8) The burdock (gobo) is also very minor and usually grown for home use. It is boiled when eaten.

(9) The carrot (ninjin) is a minor crop.

(10) The trumpet or bottle gourd (yūgao) is only grown in Matsuda and for home use as a summer food. [184]

(11) Spinach (hōrensō), onions (negi), Chinese lettuce (hakusai) are not uncommon. Spinach, lettuce (chisi), and onions do not have the importance either as a crop or a food that they have with us.

(12) The taro (satoimo in Japanese, Colocasia esculenta Schott) can occasionally be seen growing in Hanashiro or Matsuda, often on the edge of a rice field. It is known locally also as taimo and apparently is the same as the Japanese dasheen. The taro is used as a side dish.

(13) The Irish potato (bareisho) is occasionally grown for sale. [432]

(14) Cabbage (tamana) is partly a cash, partly a home use crop. It is also minor. Some Okinawans like cabbage and grow it for their own use, but many dislike it and sell the crop.

(15) The grains are an unimportant part of village agriculture. The most common are barley (ōmugi), wheat (komugi) and millet. (Mugi is a general term for grain. The ō means large, the ko, small, referring to the kernels of the two grains). [193]

Although comparable statistics were not available for each of the villages, the following table from Hanashiro clearly shows the relative importance of the major crops: 241 311

HANASHIRO
Crop Acreages, 1950

Crop	Area in CHO a/	Percent of Total
Rice	10.89	100.0
Total Dry Crop Land	59.88	100.0
Sweet Potatoes	35.86	59.9
Soy Beans	13.63	22.8
Sugar Cane	5.41	9.0
Beans and Peas (excluding soy)	2.30	3.9
Wheat	1.80	3.0
Millet	0.50	0.8
Vegetables	0.38	0.6

241 a/ A chō is 3000 tsubo, or about 2.45 acres.

311 Source: Agricultural Section, Gushichan Village Office, Gushichan-son,
[804] Okinawa, September 1951.

In Ginoza-son, statistics for crops on an individual village basis were only obtainable in part. Some Matsuda figures which were available indicate that rice, the sweet potato, and sugar cane were the most important of the crops:

Rice lands		82,151 tsubo (about 27.4 chō)
Summer planting:	58,000	
Fall planting:	54,000	
	112,000	tsubo, including double cropping.
Dry Crop Land		188,305 tsubo (about 62.8 chō)
Sugar Cane:		
Summer planting	2170 tsubo	
Spring planting	6840 " "	
	9010 tsubo	

The greater part of the remaining dry crop land is believed to be in sweet potatoes.

8

Native Uncultivated Plants of Use to Man
(Other than Forest Trees)

824 In the south, trees such as the banyan (gajimaru), the Japanese redwood (sugi), and the usuki are important within the village as windbreaks. The importance of miscanthus sinensis, often called kaya or susuki, has already been mentioned. Certain plants, used for medicinal purposes, are becoming scarce and are being displaced by modern drugs, but have some interest. Other plants, formerly used in home industries for weaving and making straw sandals, have also declined in importance in the villages.

In the south one of the most interesting associations is that of the Ryukyuan pine (Pinus ryukyuensis), the cycad (sotetsu in Japanese, Cycas revoluta, Thunb.) and Chinese silver grass (miscanthus sinensis). The Ryukyu pine in this area is little more than a shrub. It has some uses for firewood and for minor construction, but the lumber for substantial houses comes from the northern forests.

The cycad, now rather uncommon in this area, has had several uses. The whole plant may be a windbreak or be used for firewood. A form of starch (renmun in Japanese, kumu in Okinawan) is made from this plant,
[262] a food traditionally used in time of great hardship or crop failure.

The starch comes from two sources; the large oval seed, ranging from 824
orange to Chinese red when mature, and the stalk. Use of the stalk 262
involves destruction of the plant. According to Gushichan area
residents, the starch of the cycad seed was used for food in 1945, 1946,
and parts of 1947. Timing is an important part of the starch making
because at certain stages of development the cycad is poisonous. Today
in areas where the cycad is plentiful, the seeds are still gathered and
dried in large quantities. Toward the end of November in Oku and in
the nearby mountain village of Hedo, and in other villages of the far
north of the island, large quantities of cycad seeds can be seen drying
in the compounds. In the Hanashiro and Minatogawa area, the cycad is
not plentiful enough and is too scattered for these uses.

The main uses of miscanthus are: (1) roof thatch, including the 824
saddle back which caps the roof, (2) firewood, (3) the younger shoots
for animal food, (4) fertiliser, (5) a raw material for home weaving of
baskets and slings for carrying vegetables.

Miscanthus can be seen to best advantage in December when it is in full bloom and covers large areas of the uncultivated countryside. Considering the present economic situation in the south, these plentiful grasses are indispensable to daily living. One must see, from day to day and with his own eyes, the dependence on these wild grasses to appreciate the force of this statement.

In the southern area studied, one consequence of the war on the 137
natural vegetation was the spread of the grasses at the expense of the 727
pine and the cycad. Residents of the Hanashiro, Gushichan, and
Minatogawa areas have said that prior to the war, the Ryukyuan pine
was plentiful and covered hill and mountain sides now quite bare, save
for an occasional scrub tree. These trees were destroyed by bombing
and firing. There are occasional evidences of regrowth due to natural
seeding, but the clumps are small, and nothing like a stand is growing.
The stands even before the war, however, must have been inconsequential
compared with descriptions of the area fifty years ago given by old
residents of the area. The present deforestation of large parts of
southern Okinawa seems to have accelerated in the recent past. 137

The cycad had a similar fate in the south. The plants are
numerous in the sense that one can always be observed on a walk. They
grow in clumps, often alongside the pandanus. The grasses seem to
have displaced the cycad and the pandanus as well. The dense settlement, [311]
cultivation, use of trees for firewood, and the recent war account for
the uncultivated hillsides in which the grasses now predominate, and on
some of which not a single tree or shrub is to be observed. The
original native vegetation, perhaps, may still be preserved in the
limestone sinks which occur here and there in this area.

In Hanashiro, the absence of trees and shrubs except in the settled areas has already been noticed. This is a characteristic of villages in the south. The treelessness of Minatogawa is exceptional.

824 [731] [417] [534] The most common of the Hanashiro trees are (1) the banyan or gajimaru, or yōsu. This tree is a common sight with its long roots growing around and through the stone fences. The tree with its roots bracing the stone fences is excellent typhoon protection for the village. (2) The usuku (Japanese scientific name, the akou) resembles the gajimaru in appearance and serves the same purpose. The fukugi (Darcinia spicata Hook) and an occasional cycad are common windbreaks. These trees are almost invariably in combination with stone fences, made of blocks, or with fences made of loose stones which have settled and been bound together by small plant roots. Village typhoon protection is a simple but effective combination of stone, shrubs, and trees. There is also an occasional kuruki (kurchi in Okinawan), from whose trunk the samisen, the stringed musical instrument, is made, and the palm (shuro).

[463] [887] [782] There are wild plants in each of the areas but their importance has also declined. Among these is the pandanus (the adan, Japanese scientific name, the takonoki). This plant was plentiful before the war, but is now scarce except in the mountain area. It can occasionally be seen in genya land or in small clumps on an outcrop. The blades of the pandanus are long and hard, with a row of spines down both sides of the blade. It has had several uses. Formerly it was the common material for making slippers (zori), hats, cigarette cases, and handbags. These home industries have all but disappeared, but old people occasionally do a little. In preparing the pandanus blades for use, the thorns are removed and several strips are made. These are then boiled, dried, and smoothed out. Then they are woven into the desired pattern. A first class pandanus blade is about 5 feet long. In the celebration of O-Bon, the fruit of the pandanus may be offered as food to the ancestors.

Another plant occasionally used is the getto, known also in Okinawa as sannin or muchigasa. Its chief use is in the festival of the 8th day of the 12th lunar month. At this time, rice cakes (mochi) are wrapped up in its long and wide and flexible fibres. These wrappings, often made by children, are hung from the ceiling or from the wall. The stem of this plant was much used in the past for rope.

824 262 757 The nigana (njana in Okinawan, Ixeris dentata Nakai) is still used in this area as a food and medicine. It has an exceedingly bitter root, about 1/8 of an inch in diameter in a mature plant. The root is put in hot water, and the liquid drunk as a stomach medicine. The leaves, not so bitter as the root, have a sour, slightly bitter taste. They are often served with the white cuttlefish (shirui-ika).

The ōbako (known in Okinawan as the hiramakusa or hiramagusa, Plantago Asiatica L, "Japanese ribwort") is used as a medicine and as a food. When vegetables are scarce, it is eaten as a green. As a medicine, the leaf is heated over a fire and the hot leaf is then pressed over a swelling.

Moxa (*mogusa* in Japanese, *fuch'ba* in Okinawan) in the traditional Chinese and Japanese pharmacopoeia, had considerable former importance. In powdered form, it is placed on a swelling or painful part, which is cauterised by burning the moxa with a charcoal stick or a hot piece of metal. Moxa can be bought, packed and prepared in Japan, at most Okinawan village stores. But wild moxa is not used for this purpose. Formerly a brew was made of the wild plant and drunk for bringing down a fever. It is still used with the *yagi*, another plant, as a broth. Now aspirin, also obtainable at village shops is commonly taken for these ills. 824 157

These plants are now nearly forgotten. In Hanashiro only the *nigana* and *mogusa* were remembered. In Minatogawa, the situation was the same. In Kagamo, a few slippers from the pandanus are still made. The virtual disappearance of home industries based on the pandanus is the result of a diminished supply and in part to loss of skills and failure of a younger generation to acquire them either because of the attraction of more exciting occupations or to lack of interest. This is not meant as a generalisation. Home industries based on the use of uncultivated plants, has not vanished from all parts of Okinawa. Activity changes from locality to locality, even when these are close together. Slipper production from the pandanus has practically disappeared in Minatogawa, but across the river in the village of Horikawa they are still made. 824 178 184 [497]

Plant	Hanashiro	Minatogawa-Kagamo	Matsuda
Pandanus (*adan*)	Scarce, not used	Some slippers made	Not used
Nigana	Root boiled and used as a medicine		Broth for stomach and headaches.
Ubako	Not used	For swellings; hot leaf used as a poultice.	Not used [157]
Moxa (*mogusa*)	Used as in Minatogawa	Wild plant boiled, brew used for bringing down fever. Powdered form purchased.	Used in combination with another plant, the *yagi*, resulting broth used for general complaints. [157]

9

Domestic Animals

231 [727] The effects of the war are still to be seen in the scarcity of domestic animals (*kachiku*). The domestic animal population is increasing. Horses were far more numerous before the war. The same is true of cattle and oxen which, however, are more numerous than horses. All are used as draft animals, with the greatest frequency in Hanashiro. Cattle and oxen are used for plowing and harrowing in [492] [262] the rice fields; horses for pulling carts and wagons. Horse meat is not eaten. All larger animals are tethered or in stalls. They are not allowed to graze or to roam freely around the villages or on the hillsides. Since each bit of land is owned, grazing would deprive someone of needed grasses, either the young shoots or the matured 235 fibres. Chickens are generally kept in coops. Ducks have a little more freedom.

231
235

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

Animal	Hanashiro	Nagamo	Minatogawa	Matsuda
Cattle and Oxen	40	5	0	1 (80)
Horses	2	1	0	80 (90)
Pigs	125	100	150	315
Goats	50	50	40	371
Chickens	a/	30	a/	706
Ducks	0	50	a/	10
Rabbits	0	0	0	6

Source: Village clerks of each village and township records. Figures are approximate as of January 1952. Pre-war estimates where known are shown in parentheses. Villages try to keep an accurate and up to date animal census. a/ Not available, village has some

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231 In all the villages studied, pig raising is the most important secondary occupation of the individual farmer or fisherman. Pig raising is old in the culture. According to Chamberlain (1895), under the old kingdom every household by law had to raise goats and pigs. Pigs were fed in part on human excrement. This practice in my observation has now been abandoned.

[434] Pigs are raised for sale. They are the most significant single source of cash for the farm family and they supplement the fisherman's cash income.

cash income. Pigs are seldom eaten by the family that raises them. On New Year's, a family will slaughter a pig or three or four families might co-operate in sharing one. Pork may also be served at O-Bon and at Jūgoya, the autumn equinoctial holiday season. 231 [242] [337]

A family often gets its start in pig raising by obtaining a loan from a mutual loan group. (These groups will be discussed later). A young pig may cost about ¥2000. Male pigs intended for market (nikubuta in Japanese, shishiwa in Okinawan) are castrated two months after birth. Keeping breeding pigs (tanebuta) is a special business. Men engaged in this business bring the boar to the pig raiser's home. Each village has such a businessman or at least has convenient access to one in a neighboring village. The fee usually charged is ¥500. If the first attempt at breeding is unsuccessful, a second opportunity is given free. On the third try, the dealer claims his fee again. In Matsuda, there is a belief among the old that as the tide is coming in, if a sow is in heat, the male will be able to perform, but that in the ebb tide he cannot. [426] [435] [238]

Great care is taken in housing pigs adequately, if the family is able to do so. The pig sties made of stone or coral may be better than the houses of their owners. This is by no means so shortsighted or ridiculous as it might seem. Pigs are the means, one of the very few means, by which an agricultural family may acquire substantial sums of cash. To protect this living bank account, considerable sums are invested in fine stone, or cement floors and an adequate roof. The pen must be strong to withstand typhoons. With a good pig pen, a sow, and a good litter, a family can look forward to improving its financial condition and its own housing. There is great variety in the quality of pig pens. The pen may be in combination with the outside toilet, but with the two places completely separate; it may be part of a larger shed which also houses the goats, the cattle, or the horse. If a family can afford it, the pig is housed in a stone pen with stone floors, or with other sturdy materials. 231 343 [234] [311]

The day to day care of pigs is mostly the work of women. While the husband is at work in the fields, the wife, as an incidental part of her duties, goes to the nearest plot to cut sweet potato tops, or mashes sweet potatoes in the stone mortar in the compound, often with her infant child on her back. There are three favorite varieties of food for pigs: (1) the leaves of the sweet potato plant not suitable for human consumption or not needed for transplanting, (2) the potato itself. The poorer grades of potato are put in a stone mortar and are smashed with a long pole, or pestle. (3) A cloudy liquid consisting of the sweet potato, waste bean curd (tōfu no kassha) and water. This is always given warm. The pig may also get poor rice, or rice spoiled for human consumption by submersion as a result of a typhoon, or miscellaneous left overs from the table. [231] [234] [343]

There are no ceremonies in any of the villages associated with slaughtering the pig. Villagers seldom kill their own except on 231

231 [825] [443] special holiday occasions. Pig killing or the killing of any animals is distasteful. The pig generally is driven out of the pen to a waiting truck or horse cart and hauled squealing off to market.

232 [197] Considerable interest is being shown (early 1952) in the scientific breeding of pigs from stock imported from the United States. Chester White is a well known word among the farmers of Matsuda. In this area, regional meetings of pig breeders and raisers from the northern part of Okinawa and the Motobu peninsula are held to discuss the care, breeding, and marketing of pigs. These farmers have come a long way from the earlier days, even 25 years ago, when the toilet and the pig pen were the same. A farmer going from one of his fields to another often stops home to look at the pigs and perhaps to discuss his problems with [474] a friend. In Matsuda, a pig growers' association has now been started.

231 Domestic animals, especially the pig, can be expected to increase and to reach at least their pre-war level, if the villages studied are typical. This development will be all to the good. The pig consumes food not fit or not used for human consumption. It does not compete with humans for food. It is unlikely that land now devoted to the production of human food would be diverted to animal food. In my observation, there is not a strong competition between animals and man for the products of the land. Domestic animals really round out the agriculture and consume food that otherwise would not be used.

[311] The lack of grazing land, except on the hill sides and summits, means that domestic animals must be fed with food grown and prepared and fed to them by the farmer. Grazing also would be out of the question since the land on the hills is privately owned and split up in small parcels. The young plants are valued too highly to permit indiscriminate grazing.

[435] Goats are cheaply raised. The only expense is the labor of getting leaves, grass, and tender shoots from the family's green land on the hills. In the market, goat is the cheapest of all meats. There are also sharp differences in taste among villagers for goat's [262] meat. The milk is not used as a food. Goats are tied up or kept in stalls for their entire life. They are never allowed to roam through the village or to graze on the hill sides. They are not given water and depend entirely on the water in the grasses and shoots which they are fed.

Horses, cattle, and oxen are fed grasses, mashed sweet potatoes, and waste bean curd. Though occasionally used in rice fields, the [492] chief use of horses is in drayage. In Matsuda, the horse and the two wheeled cart make frequent trips to the mountains to transport the longpoles, firewood, and charcoal.

235 [262] Chickens are fed anything that might be on hand. Often they are given the chaff from the rice or the rice that is blown off in winnowing. Occasionally chickens are eaten, but they are kept primarily

for eggs, which are reserved more for sale than as a food, though this varies with the well-being of the family. 235 362

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Conclusion

182 The agricultural village, with its sweet potatoes, rice, soybeans and cane, its domestic animals, and its dependence on wild grasses illustrates the complex relationships between man and the land, bound together by the family system. The pattern of land ownership, a product of past land tenure, and inheritance, has been created by the family system. The land everywhere bears these traces of the work of man. Not even the barren mountain tops are exempt from his activities, for these supply the fresh grasses for his animals, grass for his roofs and for fertilizer, odd brush for his fires, stones for his fences and boundary ridges. The scarcity of land, the ownership of small scattered plots have induced a local care, through traditional conservation practices and fertilization and crop rotation to maintain a continued economic base for the future of the main and the branch families.

[463] Within the family system, there is a tendency toward the persistence of the same occupation from generation to generation. Agriculture has the widest range of possibilities. The extremely old and the extremely young can engage in it. There is a place for the 80 year old grandmother cutting sweet potato tops, and for the nine year old boy to help in weeding the rice paddy. [887] [851] Agriculture demands no retirement from work as long as one has physical strength. Agriculture may readily become a secondary occupation. A stonecutter or a fisherman can tend his land in leisure hours or in off season. The reverse is not nearly so common. Only with difficulty can the farmer acquire the skills and tolerances demanded of a fisherman. It is an occupation known to all, for by maturity a storehouse of information has already been filled, almost unconsciously, by watching and doing.

CHAPTER X

MINATOGAWA-NAGAMO

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Part 1
Minatogawa, the Fishing Community

1 Introduction

2 Types of Boats

3 Common Fish and How They are Caught

4 Division of the Catch

5 Sale and Distribution of Fish

6 Other Activities Associated with Fishing

7 The Rough Language of Minatogawa

8 Daily Life of the Fishing Village

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1 The Quarries of Minatogawa-Nagamo

2 Acquiring and Working the Land

3 Tools and Types of Stone Cut

4 Restoring the Land

Part 1

Minatogawa, the Fishing Community

1

Introduction

Fishing families are a closely knit group. They are usually 226
interrelated. For the most part, the main houses of their extended [596]
families are in the fishing town of Itoman. Fathers, sons, wives, 607
daughters, grandparents participate in some phase of fishing activity.

In an agricultural community, the first son remains in the home 226
working the fields of his father. In fishing, through long custom, 593
there is an avoidance of teamwork among close relatives. Members of
the immediate family will not go out on the same fishing boat. A
father will not take his son, an elder brother will not take a younger.
Partners and working teams on boats are more distant relatives or
friends. If a father and a son are on the same boat and it is lost,
the present and the succeeding head both perish. To this incontrovertible
possibility, there has been added the belief that if two persons of the
same immediate family go to sea together on the same boat, there will be
a disaster. And actual and near disasters are frequent enough to make
both points of view understandable. The sons of fishermen, who are
learning the ways of the fish and of the sea, go on the boats of others.
Many younger fishermen regard the belief that it is inviting disaster to
have two members of the same immediate family together on the same boat [183]
as a superstition (meishin), but to my knowledge, no fisherman ignores
the custom.

In Minatogawa, about one half of the fishermen have fields of their 226
own, usually small and poor. Perhaps twenty men in the village may be 241
classed as half farmers and half fishermen, but even in these cases it is [423]
the wives and the children who have the continuing responsibility for
the fields.

Neither is it rare for a fisherman to be a stonecutter. Perhaps 226
another twenty men are engaged in the summer in fishing, and in stone- 324
cutting in the winter, or on unfavorable fishing days. The three main
occupations of the village, including Nagamo, are thus found in varying
combinations. Fishing is the most exacting and offers few opportunities 463
for amateurs. Stonecutting requires strength and endurance. For those
who have land, agriculture offers possibilities of growing one's own
food and of avoiding cash outlays.

In an average summer month, there may be about 20 good fishing days. 226
But because of unusual or unexpected rains or typhoons opportunities 961
may be fewer. In 1951, there were only about ten working days in each [132]
of the summer months. In winter fishing days average about a week in a

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month. The decline in opportunity is due, not to the weather, but to the scarcity of fish, which are said to move from these coastal waters during the winter season.

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The fishermen follow the lunar calendar. The type of fish caught is determined by the season. There is some specialization based on age and experience. Only the skilled and relatively young can successfully make a living diving for the lobster and disengaging him from the rocks below. The most intense activity is during the summer months, and the cash earnings of the fishermen are greatest at this time.

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Fishermen pay attention to the weather and to the moon. Part of their weather knowledge comes from traditional lore, part from observation, part from the modern storm warning systems. Fishermen do not go out if there are storm clouds overhead, especially if they are moving fast. The worst sign is an increase in the height of the waves, even if the weather is good. The phases of the moon are also considered. The half moon is the best, the quarter moon is good, but neither a full moon nor a moonless night is considered favorable. The exception is fishing for white cuttle fish, caught on winter moonlit nights. At present, official storm warning signals are universally observed. The red flag flying from a pole on the main street near the breakwater is enough to keep every fisherman at home. This faith in meteorology has not always existed. Even in recent years, fishermen have disregarded the warnings because of disbelief, or ignored them when storms did not appear following a previous warning.

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Fishing in the Minatogawa area is coastal (if we include distances up to twelve miles out) and is on a small scale. Much of the gear is improvised by the fishermen themselves. The methods are simple and effective, and the boats are small. This is not one of the most important fishing areas in Ryukyuan waters.[1]

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[813]
Men become fishermen by imitating their skilled elders. Knowledge of the fish and of the waters is imparted by word of mouth. The old men are the sources of the detailed knowledge of the currents and of the main fishing grounds, and this knowledge, held in the memory, is also transmitted orally. There are no maps or charts. Usually it takes a beginner about two years to become acquainted with the fishing areas, and about three years to have a working knowledge of the currents.

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[1] For a general discussion, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu Area. (U.S. Dept. of the Interior. Fish and Wildlife Service. Fishing Leaflet 333), Washington, 1949. This work has an interesting collection of maps and drawings of various types of nets. It is not concerned with particular areas in Okinawa, nor with customs connected with fishing.

226 868

The time at which a young man becomes a full fledged fisherman depends on his own ability and progress. Age is not a criterion of skill after a young man has had experience. Perhaps when he is 24, a young man can handle every phase of the work, including catching the swordfish. It is common for a young and an old man to work together, the one as master, the other as novice. There is no stated apprenticeship period. In bad weather, or in rough seas, only the unusually apt young fisherman is allowed to bring in a large fish by himself because of the danger of capsizing.

2

Types of Boats

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All boats are now motor driven. There are 42 in the village, 41 of which are small skiffs. Three types of boats are distinguished: (1) the hatsudōki. This is little more than a good sized motorboat with a cabin. It carries about 8 men. There is one in the village. The small scale individualized character of fishing here is indicated by the smallness of the remaining craft. (2) the kuribune (literally, "hollowed out boat," from the verb kuru, to carve or to hollow out). Properly speaking, it is a boat carved out of a log, usually of the Japanese redwood (sugi) imported from Japan, but the term is extended to mean any small boat. This type has largely disappeared, and only one remains in the village. The hollowed out boat seems, in this area at least, to have become a lost art. It has been displaced by (3) the hagibune (jointed, pieced together boat). This is also made from the Japanese redwood and is constructed, often by the fishermen themselves, out of planks about 2 1/2 inches thick. There were 40 of these hagibune in January 1952. The number is never constant due to new building, losses at sea, or on shore from typhoon destruction.

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These small boats do not require much maintenance. At typhoon times, they are lifted from the shore up over the breakwater and lashed down on the side of the road. This may not avoid destruction. If the breaking waves are high and strong, they crush the breakwater, hurling its stones against the boats. Every two months, the boats are thoroughly treated by rubbing with shark oil. Cracks and small holes are repaired with small wooden plugs, called fundu in Okinawan. These are shaped like a stylized butterfly. They are inserted in the bottom of the sides of the boats across the running planks, that is, against the grain.

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Common Fish and How They Are Caught

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In this area, many different kinds of fish are caught, but the following discussion is limited to the most plentiful and economically

226 most important.

226 (1) The sword or spearfish (kajiki in Japanese, akiteri in
Okinawan). This fish (some specimens reach 450 pounds) is caught
136 from May through September. Fishermen go about 12 miles out for
the catch. A wire leader 15 feet long with a hook is attached to
[227] a 1400 foot braided cord line about 3/16 of an inch in diameter.
The line is gradually played out after the initial 700 feet are
lowered. Swordfish fishing is done in the daytime. The fish is
said to be scarce at night. The hook is about 2 1/2 inches long.
262 The swordfish is considered the most delicious of fish. It is ex-
pensive, selling from ¥50 to ¥100 per kin (slightly over 1.3 pounds)
[435] depending on season and supply; consequently, fishermen sell rather
[432] than eat it, except in times of oversupply. Large fish are usually
cut up before being sent to market; the small ones are sent whole.
The swordfish is ordinarily eaten fresh. The favorite method of
[252] preparation is to fry it after dipping a slice in a batter of flour,
dried milk and water. Occasionally it is eaten raw as sashimi.
Dried swordfish is considered a delicacy. Unlike the shark, the
fins (hane) are not dried.

226 (2) The tunny (subinouo in Japanese, subi in Okinawan). This
fish is caught between April and November. Here there are two ways
136 of catching the fish, depending on the type of boat. If the large
boat, the hatsudōki, is used a long line with as many as 200 hooks
[227] set 75 feet apart is used. At intervals of every three hooks, there
are buoys with flags (hata). These flags, alternately white and red,
are about the size of a large handkerchief. In another arrangement,
the buoys may also alternate with the flags. The same line and wire
leader used for the swordfish are employed with tunny catching, but
the hook is smaller. When submerged the hooks are at various depths,
their paths describing semi-circles from buoy to buoy. Lines may be
pulled in from one to four times a day, depending on the biting. The
bobbing of the buoys and the flags indicates the biting and the probable
catch. A fishing party remains out for three days, leaving at five
in the evening, returning about ten in the evening of the second day.

The small boats use two lines, the longer going down from the center of the boat, the shorter near one end. The method of catching the tunny is the same as that for the swordfish. In night fishing, the line might be lowered fifty feet, gradually playing out ten feet at a time. Tunny fishing is mostly a night catch. The line during night operations may be let out 700 feet, and, in the day 350 feet.

(3) The shark (fuka in Japanese). This fish is caught in the same way as the tunny. Fishing takes place both during the day and night. On the small boats, the line and its 15 foot leader with one hook, is about 840 feet long, and the entire length is let out.

(4) The mackerel (hishisaba). The main season for catching the mackerel is from March through May. These fish, usually weighing about 30 pounds, are caught by divers who seek the fish out while it is sleeping under stones. A strong line is tied around the tail and the fish is pulled up on board. There it is killed with a short

handled round-bladed knife, the mackerel knife ([illegible]). The fish is caught in the daytime. The diver does not use a flashlight. He uses thick goggles and he may dive to a depth of fifty feet. Fishermen usually are able to continue in this work until they are about forty, after which they stop diving.

(5) The red snapper (akatai in Japanese, [illegible] in Okinawan). This is a winter catch from September to April. Little is caught in the summer, as the fish spoils too easily without ice. It is also a daytime catch, the fishermen usually going about six miles out and fishing from 8 in the morning until [illegible] at night. Large fish average about 7 pounds, small 2 pounds, with a 100 pound catch for one boat considered a fair catch. The fish is caught with a hook and line. Lines in the skiffs go about 1000 feet down to the rocks.

(6) The flying fish (tobiuo in Japanese, [illegible] in Okinawan). The season extends from October to April. Flying fish are very numerous in March and April. A large specimen is about one pound, a small one about half a pound. This is also a night catch. The net (tobiuami) is about 4000 feet long. It consists of about 16 small nets, each about 250 feet long, joined together. The top of the net has small pieces of wood made from a tree locally called the angi, the same tree from which the wooden clogs (geta) are made. These small pieces of wood are about 7 sun (8.4 inches) long with about one shaku (about one foot) interval between. On the bottom of the net are small lead weights or shells. As the fish fly, their heads strike the net, and are caught in its loops and held there.

(7) The cuttlefish (ika in Japanese and Okinawan). This fish is sought at night during the late summer and early fall. It is attracted by an ika lamp (ikarampu), placed on the bow of the boat. These lamps may be bought in the small shops of the fishing village. The fish, attracted to the light, are caught with hooks, 8 of which, arranged like the petals of a flower, are attached to a bamboo stick about 3 feet long. (Fig. 1).

(8) The white cuttlefish (shiroika in Japanese, [illegible] in Okinawan). This fish is caught from fall to spring on moonlight nights. The season lasts from the 8th to the 3rd lunar months. It is caught with a home made lure (yasa). This particular kind of lure is known as the ikauo in Japanese, the [illegible] in Okinawan. (Fig. 2). Sometimes the lure is painted blue and white; sometimes it is a dark brown. On the tail are two sets of 8 pointed hooks in petal formation, like the cuttlefish hook, though very much smaller. These lures are made by the fishermen during winter nights. It takes about 4 hours to carve one. Two woods are favorites for the lure: camphor (kusanoki) whose supply imported from Formosa is now being gradually exhausted, and the shagi (Okinawan), a tree from the northern district of Okinawa.

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136 (9) The lobster, (*ebi* in Japanese, *ibi* in Okinawan). Catching the lobster is the work of young men, usually up to 24 years of age. A man over 35 may be too old for the hard work involved. Occasionally in summer older men engage in part time lobster catching. The fisherman secures a flashlight, covered with sheet rubber, around his left wrist with a strong rubber band. The rubber casing for the flashlight [227] is often an old bicycle inner tube. The light can be turned on or off without removing the tubing. In his right hand, the diver holds a hook (*ebikake* in Japanese, *ihikakiya* in Okinawan) over 25 inches long, which he uses to dislodge the lobsters from the rocks below. Often fishermen remain in the water for three hours, the period depending on the season, the potential catch, and on how cold the fisherman becomes. The diver wears only a pair of shorts. The lobster is a year round catch, though there are few in winter. The full moon is considered bad for lobster fishing. It is not known exactly how lobster were caught in the days before flashlights. Some old men said that nets were used.

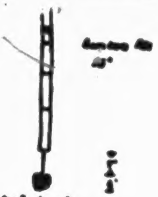
[432] [474] On a good day, one small boat with three or four men, can catch 150 pounds of lobster. It is not eaten frequently by the villagers, but sold to the large fishing co-operative association (*Suisankumiai-rengokai*). The hard and disagreeable work makes the lobster expensive. [435] At present the local market is sensitive to the tastes of the Americans in Okinawa. Weekly estimates of probable demand are furnished by the central office of the association to the local head of the fisherman's [434] association, who in turn informs the fishermen. The lobster is considered a delicacy and is eaten only when there is a large catch and [262] the demand is low.

(10) The seabream (*taisakana* in Japanese, *akamaru* in Okinawan). The seabream is caught with a home made device shaped like a I with [227] a top bar: Ī. The base of the I has a loop for the hook and line. These wire devices are known as *yamaguchi* in Okinawan though the younger fishermen call it the *sarukan*. The fish are caught by a series of these wire devices strung along a line with a sinker at the end. The success of the catch can be judged by lifting the line. An ordinary catch will bring fish on 3 out of the 5 hooks.

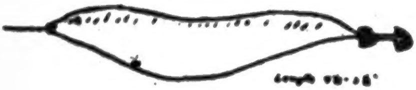
These are the main fish caught in this area. There are small catches of the bonito (*katsuo*), the dolphin or porpoise (*iruka*), and the shrimp (*zakoebi*), and a small octopus (*tako*). But these are rather infrequent. There are hundreds of other fish caught, especially of different smaller sardines (*amaishi*).

227 The wire devices used for catching the seabream can be used in varying sizes to catch many different types of fish. Some, such as the ones described, are used for the bonito, and very small ones are employed in catching sardines.

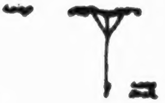
MINATOGAWA FISHING GEAR



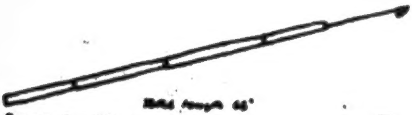
An 8 pointed petal hook, the [illegible]



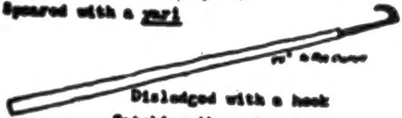
The [illegible], a fishing lure



The Yamaguchi

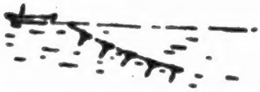


Speared with a yari

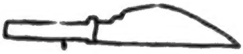


Dislodged with a hook

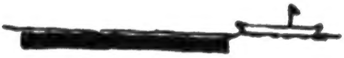
Catching the octopus



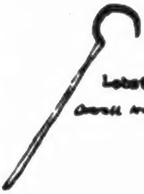
Yamaguchi on a line



A fish knife, the [illegible]



A flying fish (tobiuo) net



Lobster hook

3

Division of the Catch

The division of the catch and the division of labor between the sexes in catching and distributing the fish are based on custom. In the memory of old grandmothers in the village, these customs today are substantially the same as they were in their childhood. The innovations since that time have been technical improvements such as flashlights for underwater diving, motors instead of sails or oars, boat building out of planks using modern hand tools rather than carving out logs, and manufactured fish hooks and gear. 226 [178] [227] [501]

The mechanics of dividing the catch depend on whether the boat is a small or a large one. In Minatogawa, all the boats except one are small so that the division is simple. With the larger boats, the custom is more involved, as more factors have to be considered. 226 476

In the case of the small boats, let us assume that there are two fishermen, the owner and a friend or relative. The value of the catch is ¥3500 with ¥100 expenses for gas and oil. The net value is thus ¥3400. This is divided three ways. The boat gets one share, and each of the fishermen gets a share. In this illustration, the boat owner gets two-thirds of the proceeds, one share as the owner of the boat, one share as a participating fisherman.

These partnerships are very fluid. No agreements are made in writing. Neither are there oral agreements to fish together for any definite period. The partnerships continue as long as the fishermen are compatible and form and dissolve without ceremony or formality. But a practical question does arise in the event of the illness of one of the fishermen.

In this case, a substitute is found for the duration of the regular fisherman's incapacity. This is informal and may be another friend or relative free to help out. The substitute gets the full share of the regular fisherman. In these partnerships, the owner of the boat pays for all repairs that cost money. The other gives his labor for repair and maintenance, such as oiling with shark oil, putting plugs in the holes or in weak spots, or assisting in carrying the boat to a safe place during typhoons.

The division of the catch in larger boats is also best explained by an example. Let us assume an eleven man crew with the corresponding shares:

A	The Boat's Share
B	The Captain
C	The Engineer
D-J	Fishermen
K	The Cook

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The boat, as in the previous example, is considered a person. The cook is usually a boy about 16 or 17 years old. If we further assume a catch valued at ¥10,000, with a deduction of ¥1000 for gas and oil, there is a remainder of ¥9,000 to be divided. The boat's share, A, is 30%, or ¥2700, with ¥6300 for further distribution. The following formula is then applied to this remainder:

Captain	1.5	shares
Engineer	1.5	shares
Fishermen	7.0	shares, one for each of 7 men
Cook	0.7	shares
	10.7	

The value of each share is ¥588.78 (¥6300 divided by 10.7). If the amounts are rounded off, the final distribution is:

Captain	¥883	(1.5 x 588.78)
Engineer	883	(1.5 x 588.78)
Fishermen	4121	(1 x 588.78 x 7)
Cook	412	(0.7 x 588.78)
	¥6300	

The distribution takes place at the conclusion of a voyage. Obligations (giri) between the owner and the others, on these larger boats, are also based on custom. If a crew member is injured on a voyage and prevented from going on the next one, he receives a share for the voyage he was on, and some money, depending on the catch but not a full share, during convalescence. If a fisherman is ill and has been injured outside of his work, he does not receive this consideration.

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Sale and Distribution of Fish

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[435]
The sale and the distribution of fish is the work of women. Men occasionally do this, but their function is to catch the fish, maintain the boats and gear, and make the lures. The bulk of the fish is sold at Naha because the highest prices generally are paid there. This makes it difficult for adjacent villages to obtain fish, even in season. When the fish is especially plentiful and low in price at Naha, the women go to the agricultural villages of the interior. Fish are carried in baskets. The pre-war custom of carrying the fish basket on the head and walking from village to village, or to the railroad station at Kochinda, thence by rail to Naha, has given way to truck, bus, or the three wheeled cycle. Often in the evening, these cycles, which can seat six comfortably, are filled with eight or ten laughing and voluble women, and their fish, the vehicle chugging slowly and painfully up and then coasting down the grades.
[415]
[482]
[494]

000 One can infrequently observe women walking from Minatogawa to

One can infrequently observe women walking from Minatogawa to nearby villages to sell their fish. Women and young girls also sell fish locally, standing somewhere off the main street with their hand scale (hakkari) and a basket or bucket of fish. Housewives come up, price the individual fish, often weighing it for themselves on the hand scale. 443 804

Like the Chinese scale, this is simply a round piece of wood on one end of which there is a weight. The fulcrum is a string, held in the hand, which holds the scale. The item to be weighed is put in a basket and placed on the other end. The weight is ascertained by moving the counter-weight till both sides are in balance. Markings along the piece of wood show the exact amount. Every village shop has one of these scales.

There is very little haggling over prices, although the housewife is choosy and will inquire the cost of different individual fish before deciding which one, if any, to buy. 443

Usually the night's catch is marketed the following morning. Women, by custom, receive a fee for selling fish. A woman who takes her husband's and his partner's fish to market (the catch being insufficient for both wives to participate) is paid her fee by weight. 443 465

25 kin (about 33 pounds) sold at ¥30 per kin	¥1500
Woman's share, at ¥5 per kin	- 150
Remainder	¥1350
Each Partner's Share	675

[804]

The ¥5 per kin is a selling commission. If more than one women goes, the fee is split between them. Women pay all expenses and their bus fare from the commission. Occasionally wives alternate in taking the catch to market.

When the woman of a fishing family takes fish to market, she is doing more than performing an errand. Her skill in bargaining and general knowledge of prices, of the catch and the demand for various kinds of fish determine whether she gets a good or only a fair price. Generally, mature women sell the fish. Younger women, in the late teens and early twenties, often accompany the older women as helpers and gradually are initiated into the tricks of the trade. Young women, not being skillful, are more likely to accept the first offer, or to sell below the highest price obtainable. One source of family quarreling (fufukonka) is the anger of a husband when his wife has sold at a lower price than his neighbor's wife. Women who have children leave them with a relative, or an older daughter. When the wife of the family is unable to sell the fish because her children are too young, the chore is taken over by a woman relative. In Minatogawa, this substitute work also is often done by widows who, in addition, might sell fish caught by male relatives. 443 562 [578] [855] [589]

The money earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after 080

434 The money
593 earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after deduction of travel expenses, becomes part of the family funds. Women in the fishing village have custody of the family money, due to frequent and prolonged absence of their husbands. This is an unusual practice, for in the agricultural and stonecutting areas of the village the husband handles the money, with the exception of a few yen which the wife may have at home to meet incidental expenses. The custody of the money (much made over by some observers) has no special cultural significance in my observation. It is merely a convenience, based on custom and occupation. Most earnings of husband and wife are in a common fund, though older children may handle their own money.

6

Other Activities Associated with Fishing

251 [439] There is some local drying of fish for home use and export. Of the common fish, the most frequently dried are the mackerel, the swordfish, and the shark. Shark fins are dried for export to Japan; before the war, they were also sent to China. The small amounts dried in local villages are accumulated in places like Naha for shipment. Drying processes are of the simplest. The fish may be laid out on a piece of canvas on the ground in front of the house, an operation which creates a stench and an overwhelming concentration of the blow fly population. Racks may be improvised. Their ends, made of odd pieces of wood, support thin bamboo poles laid parallel, on which the fish are put to dry. Sometimes fish are hung on a line. If the weather is good, they dry in two or three weeks, but rain quickly produces spoilage if the fish are not taken in immediately. The mackerel when dried may be heated up by placing a piece over the open fire, then rolled between the palms to see if it has been heated enough, torn into shreds, and put on a plate. Occasionally a poor family of non-fishing people, or a widow, purchases whole fish or backs or fins to dry for home use or resale.

278 825 Certain fish are valued as medicines. Their scarcity in agricultural villages prevents any but the most casual use. In Minatogawa, the commonest fish used as medicines are the lobster, the white cuttle fish, and the carp (koi), though the latter fish is rare here.

[252] 759 The whole lobster is put into boiling water. After a few minutes, this broth, which is the medicine, is drained off, and the lobster is cracked open and heated, this time for preparation as a food. The broth, which is regarded as very disagreeable, is taken for a variety of ailments. Its commonest use is as a laxative, although it is also used for swellings, boils, or gatherings of any kind (haremono), for pains in the small of the back and the loin, or for a cold. The lobster broth is regarded as a very effective medicine. A white cuttlefish soup is put to similar use. The carp is boiled in water and the broth is drunk for fevers. The carp may also be grown in village ponds.

In Hanashiro, the fish were raised for sale by the young man's 752
association. The supply of fish is too uncertain and too seasonal [226]
for these remedies to be an effective part of the traditional medicine.
Like the native plants, and many of the traditional medical practices,
they are yielding to the drugs which can be found in the small village [443]
shops: stomach and headache powders, eye lotions, aspirin, and other
pharmaceuticals and patent medicines.

The economic and occupational organisation of village fishing is 476
very informal. Partnerships are made on a basis of friendship and
continue so until one party, for any reason, decides to leave. There
are about 40 of these partnerships among the 120 odd adult fishermen.[2]
The fishermen of the village also have a fisherman's association 474
(*suisankumiai*) similar in function to the agricultural associations
which the Japanese instituted throughout the empire. This association
has a head (*suisankumiaichō*). Like so many official and administrative [554]
jobs in a village, these offices are thrust upon the man. He seldom
seeks them. In the larger places where there is more remuneration,
the man might seek the job. The head of the association is chosen by
the fishermen of the village. He receives Y10 a month for each fisherman [465]
he represents. This is a supplementary job, as he could not exist on
this sum. Lack of cash prevents any ambitious services to the member-
ship. The association buys and sells gas and oil, nets, lines, hooks, [439]
and other necessary items which have been imported either from the
United States or from Japan. Occasionally, the association has suf-
ficient funds for small temporary loans for purchasing imported gear, [426]
loans from Y100 to Y 500 for a period of a week or two. The main
function of the association is the exchange of information between
the local head and representatives from the larger association in Naha.
This becomes a study of the daily market demands; the information pro-
vided is a guide to fishermen in meeting the demand. This is all very [434]
informal. The head of the association circulates among the fishermen,
giving them tips on what to expect and how prices are going.

7

The Rough Language of Minatogawa

The Minatogawans have one characteristic which is not shared by 192
their agricultural neighbors of Nagano, nor indeed by any of the agri-
cultural villages. This is their rough (*arai*) language, so described [184]
by Minatogawans with a certain amount of pride. This language, if used
in the other village, would be considered insulting. It is notable
for the freedom with which nicknames, some funny, some disparaging, some 551
pointed at infirmities, are used.

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[2] The word used here is *kumiai* but actually these partnerships do not have the organized co-operative character that this word usually implies when used in an economic sense.

551 Sometimes they are nicknames like "Fat" or "Slim," or those used ironically like "Curly" for a bald headed man. No offense is taken by the fishing people at these nicknames, though they would be used by people in other villages only to very close friends, if at all. The commonest of these Okinawan nicknames are:

(1) Migwa. This is applied to persons who are squint-eyed or to those whose eyes have the appearance of being only partially open. Persons with this formation of the eyelid are not uncommon, and after one is alerted to the word, he can appreciate the frequency with which it is used. It applies to old and young alike.

(2) Another very common name is gappai. Sometimes this seems to mean a person with a pronounced dolicocephalic head, or one with a high bump in the back of the head, or a person with a high forehead and long head, rounding off high in back. In any event, one can soon recognise the distinctive features of the gappai when he sees a person who has that nickname. Migwa and gappai may supplant the person's own name. One 15 year old boy was universally known as gappai, even by old grandmothers who would use the nickname in much the same way we would say "Sonny."

Less common are (3) akabe or akaba, referring to children with many boils and swellings. Names given in childhood often stay with a person through adulthood after the cause for which the names were bestowed has disappeared. (4) Naga, for tall and slender, corresponding to "Slim." (5) Kuru (from kuroi, black). This refers to children but a little darker than most. It does not mean people deeply tanned, almost blackened by the sun, as many local fishermen are. (6) [illegible], meaning dirty and used of people who do not wash themselves. It is applied to old women, such as hingabachii, a dirty old woman. (7) Sakikwe, a drunkard, one who consumes too much sake. (8) [illegible], big belly, corresponding to "Fat" or "Fatty." (9) Mikka, a one-eyed man. It is also applied to a person one of whose eyes droops. (10) Tigwa, no hands, (11) hanahaga, bump on the nose, including a wart or a growth, (12) shippiru, "Shorty," (13) mintama, large open, presumably popping eyes, and (14) maguru. This applies to extremely curly hair, like peppercorn hair. This is unusual among Okinawans, but one occasionally sees it, thick and abundant, with coarse, dry, and very tight curls.

[184] These terms were known and recognised in the other villages studied, but they were not freely used. There seems to be a genuine distinction here in the behavior of the fishing people and the more restrained agricultural villagers. One Minatogawan explained the rough language as a carry over from the language of the sea, but he emphasised that the nicknames would give no offense in Minatogawa, while they would be insulting to the neighboring people of [illegible].

8

Daily Life of the Fishing Village

Fishing families may have informal gatherings toward the end of the day. 512 On a late summer afternoon, the family may sit in the open doorway of the house, for hedges, fences, the barriers, and trees are rare. [351] The wife may be nursing her naked child. [353] Her husband, a fisherman, has changed into his indigo blue and white striped kimono, a tall, broad, deeply tanned man. [291] Next to him sits his mother, over 70 years old, her hands tattooed, as are those of all the old women. [304] She is wearing a kimono of the same color, but of a dot pattern. [285] They sit on unrolled mats. On the veranda, three or four men, unwashed and still in their work clothes, discuss the events of the day. [415] A lacquer tray with tea cups is on the floor near them and the tea (as it so often is) may be cold. [263] There is brown sugar to eat along with the tea. The grandmother may be economically smoking a half or a third of a cigarette in the typical Japanese pipe. [306] As it grows later, the wife gets up, pours some water in the stone mortar, and smashes the sweet potatoes with the long wooden pole. [252] The men continue talking for a while, then take their leave. The wife, her work at the mortar finished, goes into the dirt kitchen to start the evening meal.

The wife of the fisherman has worries that do not bother the farmer's wife. 152 There is always the danger that her husband, or son, will not return, a real possibility, of which the frequency of widowhood in Minatogawa is proof. [165] Every season, there is at least one instance of a fisherman who has either been lost, or whose delay in returning has provoked intense worry. If crews are still out when an unexpected storm arises, there is considerable tension in the village. Since the war, rescues at sea are more likely than before. The village headman quickly reports overdue boats. The American forces have created much good will in seeking fishermen lost at sea. [141]

Women, on the other hand, have opportunities for leisure when the catch is light, or weather is unfavorable. 562 At these times, they can busy themselves with other tasks, in the field, gathering stones, getting *miscanthus*, but they do not have the unremitting activity of the woman in the agricultural village. [361] There is more visiting during the day than one observes in an agricultural village. [519]

The fisherman, with or without land, tries to keep pigs and perhaps a few goats. 231 In Minatogawa, the pens are often made of sandstone quarried here. Not only the floors and the sides, but the stalls are made of this material. One reason for this is the exposure of the village and the danger that pigs will be killed in a storm. [343] A typhoon may carry away the house, its owners having gone to the stronger house of a friend or relative, but pigs are an investment and an asset to be guarded.

512 A fishing village has a different kind of regularity than an
821 agricultural village. Activities in both are determined by the
weather. During a heavy rain, everyone is in his house. But the
farmer, even with a dark angry sky, can work up to the storm, and
often continues working in a mild rain. The fishing village is
guided both by bad and anticipated bad weather. On a fine fishing
day, the village seems deserted with the men gone, and the women in
the homes. But several days of rain or unfavorable weather keep the
men home, and the village is alive with other activities, such as re-
pairing nets, boats, and houses. Much of the fisherman's work at sea
is at night, either in the actual fishing or in going and coming.
[513] For this reason, there is considerable daytime sleeping among them.
On off days, the young fishermen loll around, often finding it diffi-
cult to pass the time away.

9

Conclusion

226 Fishing has become the occupation of a few places, such as
184 Itoman town, some villages on the Motobu peninsular, and Minatogawa.
Ryukyuans have achieved considerable fame for their skill in fishing
in waters other than their own, such as their drive-in net fishing
in the East Indies and around Singapore.[3] Possibly it is the fewness
of good ports, the necessity of adapting requirements to varying local
geographical conditions, such as the coral reefs, or the long period
of emigration that have prevented the large scale development of fishing
on this island and insured the dominance of an agricultural life.

262 It is also a striking fact that, on this small island where no
village is far from the sea, fish is an uncommon article of the diet.
The explanation is simple. It is a problem of distribution in which
[435] two considerations are involved: the higher prices obtainable in Naha,
and the difficulties of preserving fish while distributing them through
[251] the rural villages. More often than not, the fish in a farmer's diet
[439] is the dried sardine or a canned fish from Japan, not the local catch.

Part 2

The Quarries of Minatogawa-Nagame

1

Introduction

324 Minatogawa is famous throughout Okinawa for its stone. Stone
from the village and its environs may be seen in many towns and villages
[458] of the island. Before the war, there was a flourishing boat trade in
wood and stone between Minatogawa and the northern region. The fine

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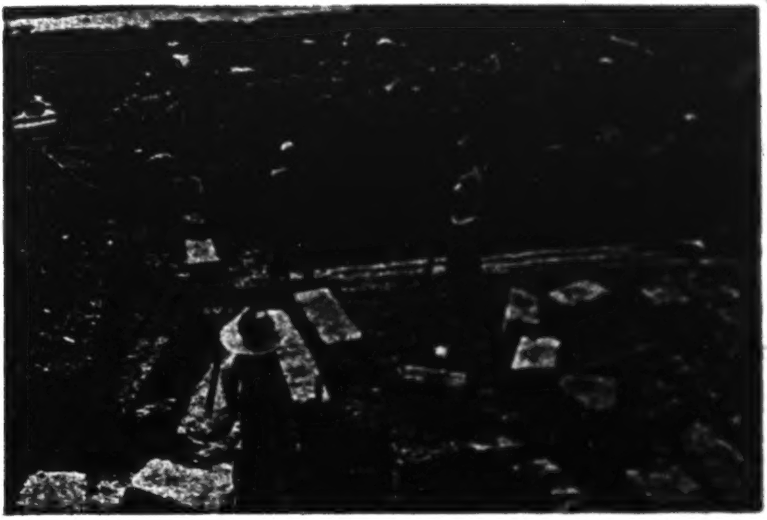
[3] For a recent statement, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu area, op.
cited, 7-9.



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516
291

Stonecutting in Minatogawa along the seashore. The long slabs are for building construction. The top left is the estuary of the river leading out to the open sea. The stance of the man in the left center of the picture is usual in cutting the stone. Note the long crow bar type tool for making the cut. The men are barefooted. Most stonecutters are quite young. There is no uniformity in headgear. The stone in the background is dark and streaked and will not be used.

7

sandstone one sees in the new buildings of Naha often is from the quarries of this area. Stone quarries are scattered in various parts of Okinawa, but the Minatogawa stone is considered the best. 324 [316]

Sandstone quarrying started, according to older settlers, about sixty years ago. Cutting began on the coast, gradually working up slope over rolling stony land. It is an interesting example of the transformation of a landscape by man. Now with the old methods still in use, the cutting has extended beyond the village. Stonecutting operations in the main are in the steep bluffs around both villages, although there are numerous cuttings in the newer settlements of Minatogawa and along the seashore. Frequently the cut stone blocks lie near the temporary Minatogawa tombs which dot the rocky coast. By the simplest methods, large quantities of stone have been and continue to be removed. All work is done by hand; machinery was installed by the Americans after the war, but it is out of working order and stands idle. 316 [133] [illegible]

Before the war, stonecutting in this vicinity was a more thriving industry than now. Quarries are also found in neighboring Tamagusuku township and there is a distributing outlet in [illegible], the village across the river. Before the war from 300-500 men are said to have engaged in stonecutting. Now there are about 120 in both villages. Many of these stone workers had come from other parts of Okinawa and the Ryukyus: men from the offshore islands, Ie-shima, the Kerama chain, and Iheya, and on the south east, from Kudaka, Tsuken, and [illegible] islands. Most of those settlers from the offshore islands have left. A few, born on Ie-shima, or from the northern district still remain. [illegible]

Since the war coastwise shipping of lumber and firewood from the north and stone from the south had declined sharply. Trucks have largely displaced the boats. Transport costs are high and the stone is in demand in closer markets. 505 444

2

Acquiring and Working the Land

Customary practices govern the quarrying of stone. These eliminate the need for written agreements. Interested persons know the properties and the possibilities of each site. These customary practices are concerned with the acquisition, the working and the restoration of land. Techniques for working the stone have remained nearly the same for at least sixty years. 316

The stonecutter purchases rights to the stone, not the land itself. When the stone has been extracted, the land is returned to its owner. This is unimproved land, but after the stone has been quarried, a house may be built on the site. When a stonecutter ([illegible]) wishes to acquire a certain holding, he calls on the owner of the land. Following oral negotiations, the price is agreed upon. A good price 316 423 [435]

316 (1951-52) is from Y300-400 per tsubo (about four square yards), much
425 higher than ordinary agricultural land. The price varies with supposed
435 quality. The good judgment of the purchaser is necessary for success.
He must estimate the quantity of stone, its depth, whether there may be cracks, fissures, or black streaks below, and the effect of underground water as he cuts down deeper. In a year, a good stonecutter can remove stone from about four tsubo of land. If he has extra capital, he may hire help.

316 The types of employment found are either the single operator or the
small operator who has one or more employees. The industry is not suitable
472 for large capital outlays, or many employees of a single operator. A
simple partnership is common. There may be some division of labor, with the owner of the rights doing all the cutting, while a friend or relative who does this as a secondary occupation assists in the removal of the stone and in loading it on a horse cart. The operator who has a piece of land too large to work by himself may hire someone. The employee (yatoi in Japanese, ningu in Okinawan) is paid according to skill: Y100
[965] a day for a beginning 17 or 18 year old boy, Y150 to the experienced,
and Y200 to the worker who can do all phases of the work quickly and skillfully.

Much depends on the nature of the stone being worked. This varies
[804] by locality and with moisture content. It will require 8 hours for
a man to cut a six shaku (about six feet) length of hard rock 1 shaku
[461] 2 sun (14.4 inches) deep, but he may be able to make three cuttings of
moist or wet rock in the same period. Working time naturally varies
with the strength and skill of the cutter. For this reason, piece
[965] work payment is common. The employee, however, may work unused portions
of the holdings, receiving two-thirds of the value of the stone cut.

3

Tools and Types of Stone Cut

413 Six tools are used in cutting and extracting the sandstone:
(1) the hichi (Okinawan). This tool, about six feet long, resembles a crow bar, but has a sharp chisel edge for cutting the stone. (2) A sharp hand axe (ono in Japanese, yūki in Okinawan) for chipping and finishing, (3) the ishiyūki, a smaller axe, used like the yūki, for chipping and finishing but principally in shaping pyramidal stones (kenchi). The tool is also used to knock off the rough edges of the stone, where it has been split, an operation often performed by old men. (4) The kusukacha (Okinawan). This reminds one of a small light golf iron. It has a handle four or five feet long with a metal strip attached at an angle to one end. It is used to rake off chippings and dust that accumulate in the groove while the cut is being made with the long chisel. (5) Wedges (iya in Okinawan), and (6) sledge hammers are used to split off the stone after the cut has been made.

316 Methods of working with these tools are very simple. The surface dirt is cleared away until the stone to be cut is visible and clean.

A cutting line is then drawn over the surface of the stone. The worker straddles the cutting line, lifts the long bar up and down, making the cut along the line to the desired depth. It is slow and tedious work. 316

When the stone has been cut along a length of 6 or 9 feet and to a depth of about 14 inches, small holes along the bottom of the cut are made with a pick. These provide a hold for the wedges. Shavings or pieces of wood are put on either side of the wedges, three of which are used for a 6 foot length. The wedges are then struck _seriatim_ with a sledge hammer and the stone is cracked across the bottom. When cracked, it is pried loose by the long bar, using the wedge as the fulcrum.

The cutting continues all day, or until the desired length and depth is reached for that particular cut. As the top layer is removed, the cutters go down deeper until they reach water, or until the seepage is too great to permit further cutting. Many times they cut 10 or 15 feet below the level of the surrounding land, stopping when the quality of the stone becomes poor. It may be black streaked, cracked, or have large fissures.

The long chisel is a relatively new addition to the tools of stonecutting. About 60 years ago, only the hand axe was used. This made the cut much rougher, compared with the clean cut of the bar chisel. After removal the block is rough on the lower edge. (Fig. 1) With gentle and slow chipping, this rough edge is smoothed off by the hand axe and the stone is ready for use. [413] 324

Three different types of stones are cut: (1) foundation stone (_ishiji_ in Okinawan) used in housebuilding. This is the stone on which the poles supporting the eaves rest. At its base, the stone is about 16 inches square, at the apex about 14 inches, with a height of 9 inches to one foot. (2) Pyramidal stones with a square base (called [illegible] both in Japanese and Okinawan). These are made from larger and imperfect cuttings or from odd shaped stones. They are chipped down and finished to the desired size. They are extensively used in breakwaters, and, occasionally in stone fences. When used as a breakwater, the stones are placed with the base toward the water, the apex being shoreward. The interstices may be filled with cement or clay. [333]

The block is the most important cut. It may be any length. When used in building construction, the blocks are generally about 9 feet long, one foot wide, and from 10-12 inches thick. These are called _ishibashida_ (Japanese and Okinawan), In housebuilding stone, the width and the thickness are about the same, from ten inches to one foot on the side. In housebuilding the blocks are laid like bricks, so that joinings are not in the same vertical line. [333]

Cutters normally do not use the stone for personal use. More is to be gained by selling. This is done on an individual basis. 324 432

324 The truck or horsecart of the buyer comes to the stonecutting area,
432 the blocks are loaded and taken away. Prior to sale, for convenience,
stone may be taken from the cutting area. It is loaded on horse carts,
[494] the men carrying the heavy blocks by means of ropes looped around the
[483] ends of the stone and over poles which in turn rest on the shoulders.
[804] A six foot length (1 ken linear measure), one foot wide and about ten
inches thick sells for ¥140 (1951-52).

[435] Foot injuries are the chief hazards of this occupation. The
toes may be accidentally cut by the long chisel, and there is danger
316 of bruising or crushing by accidentally dropping the block, or by
rolling when it is being dislodged. Very hard and calloused hands are
[164] the mark of the stonecutter; his hands are especially conspicuous for
the hard, raised areas on the palm around the base of the fingers, the
[142] result of the constant lifting and pounding of the long chisel. There
is also danger to the eyes in flying chips but few use glasses or
goggles.

Like some phases of fishing, this work is for the young and the
[561] physically mature men. After the middle forties or early fifties,
a man no longer does the heavy work and confines himself to lighter
chores. The very old and the retired may chip and finish the foundation and the pyramidal stones.

472 If a cutter is unable to extract all the stone in a plot whose stone he has bought, there are also customary solutions. When the father dies, his son continues the workings and returns the field to the owner. If a stone worker moves to another village when only half the work has been done, he arranges for a friend, relative, or neighbor to take over the remaining part.

4

Restoring the Land

185 Formerly excavations (which might be 10 or 15 feet deep and the
311 size of a large room) were refilled by the buyer of the stone rights.
Rocks, pebbles, and miscellaneous trash were used as fill, but following the war there has been a heavy demand for rock and stone for road
[499] construction. As a consequence, many excavations are now only partly
refilled. After refilling, houses are built on the sites of formerly excavated land. Here and there one can see sweet potatoes or vegetables growing on land which formerly was covered with stone. The original state of the land, its appearance after excavation and its restoration may be seen in Figure 2. Evidences of this reclamation may be seen throughout the stoneworking area.

324 Minatogawa, because it lacks vegetation for protective and decorative purposes, is a good example of the use and adaptation of stone to local needs. There are still stone fences, waist or shoulder height, and many small stone boundary lines, a foot or two and of uneven height. Coral stones, weathered by the sea, honeycombed and pocked, are seen everywhere.

MINATOGAWA-NAGANO STONECUTTING OPERATIONS

Fig. 1

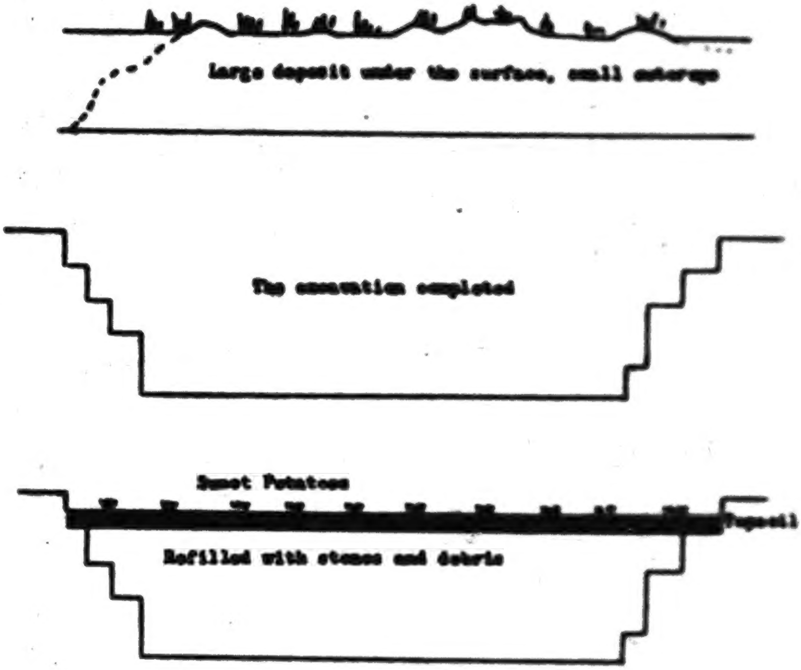
Large deposit under the surface, small outcrops
The excavation completed
Sweet Potatoes
Topsoil
Refilled with stones and debris

Fig. 2

CHAPTER XI

THE FOREST SETTING OF MATSUDA

1 An Historical View of the Okinawan Forest

2 The Forests and the Trees of Matsuda

3 The Uses of the Forest

4 An Example of Reclamation

5 Conservation

6 Conclusion

1

An Historical View of the Okinawan Forest

Northern Okinawa is the woodshed of the island, and there is a steady stream of lumber for building, poles for a variety of uses, charcoal, and of small bundles of wood for the people of the south. In the village of Matsuda, the forest is part of the daily life and economic well-being of the people. 313

Little is known of the past history of the Okinawan forest. 137 174

> "Though it is impossible now to determine the nature and distribution of the original forest cover, it seems reasonable that the major part of Okinawa was originally covered by trees. The forest was probably absent from the beaches, a few marsh areas behind the beaches, rock ledges upon which trees could gain a foothold, and perhaps some areas of Regosols (shallow soils) from calcareous clays in the southern part of the island. It is evident that the present forest has been cut over many times. There seems to be no part of the island in which the forest cover has not been disturbed in some way by man."[1] [311]

The virgin stands have disappeared and left few clues, these authors continue, but it is likely that the original forest cover was comparable to the present stands in composition of species. The authors point out the relationship of cutting to settlement. Cutting must have been a continuing process. In Saion's time, in the 18th century, there was considerable tree planting and measures were taken to protect groves of trees for their value as windbreaks. Excessive cutting could hardly have taken place in olden times in the central areas of the north, whose trees, even today, can be reached only by footpath. No doubt in the past cutting has spread out from village sites and travelled roads. Fire may have been one cause of deforestation, as it has been used to clear land. There are still instances of this. 137 311 174 [245]

In Okinawa, the period from 1879 to the end of the Russo-Japanese war seems to have been one of widespread deforestation. (This was contemporary also with the reckless deforestation in the New World). The period after 1906 reflected Japanese concern with forest preservation, especially of the nationally owned forests, a program pursued with varying degrees of success. [185]

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[1] Okinawa forests (U.S. Geological Survey. Mil. Geol. Sect., Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC), 1948, 2.

000 varying degrees of success.[2]

311 Another period of recklessness began in 1935 and reached its climax in 1940-41. This deterioration was simultaneous with the increase in the acreage of cut over forest land in Japan beginning in 1941.[3]

313 [72] In Okinawa, exploitation of the forests immediately before and during the war were due, according to residents who lived through the experience, to unrestricted cutting for troop shelters and to the large Japanese military requirements for wood. The war's end brought no relief to the forests. Housebuilding and firewood are continuing challenges to forest conservation in Okinawa. The destruction of houses in the populated south caused continuous cutting for building and firewood. In 1947, rates of cutting were estimated to exceed replacement, the main drains being for housebuilding, firewood, and charcoal.[4]

2

The Forests and the Trees of Matsuda

423 311 Matsuda has a large area of village owned forest within its borders. These village owned lands are a survival of the old land allotment system when the arable, the forest, and the wild (genya) lands were community owned.

[Text continues top of p. 226 -- analyst]

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[2] Civil Affairs Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) islands, 143, gives these dates as 1879-1906. For a published summary of Okinawan forests, their pre-war and post-war problems, and the role of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, see H. Y. Nuttonson, Ecological crop geography and field practices of the Ryukyu islands, as cited, 49-58. Nuttonson, following E. H. Walker, makes interesting comparisons of the islands of the Ryukyus. See the remarks on Miyako, Ishigaki, and Irimote, 54-56. For a short and forceful statement of the problem as it applies to Japan, see A report on Japanese natural resources, Tokyo, 1948, 347-59. Many of these remarks apply mutatis mutandis to Okinawa.

[3] Nuttonson, as cited, p. 57. Based on B. O. Hughes, A forest policy for the Ryukyu islands. (Food and Natural Resources Department, USCAR), 1951.

[4] Okinawan forests, as cited, 5.

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311

Matsuda
Land Classification

Type of Land	Area in Tsubo	Approx. Acreage Equiv.
Rice (ta)	82,151	67.9
Dry crop land (hatake)	188,305	155.6
House sites (yashiki)	17,056	14.1
Village Owned forest (sanrin)	1,259,104	1040.6
Wild land (genya) a/	376,660	311.3
Village Owned shelter belts, groves	33,654	27.8
Religious sites (haisho)	2,883	2.4
Public building sites	81	b/
Miscellaneous	3,183	2.6
Total	1,963,077	1622.3

a/ Includes village and privately owned, but almost all is privately owned.

b/ Less than 0.1 acre

Source: Ginoza-son township office, Ginoza village, Okinawa Island. Dec. 1951.

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The coniferous forest (shinyōjurin) is along the shore, reaching inland short distances in those areas not given over to cultivation. Pine stands are valuable for typhoon protection. Inland, about half a mile to a mile from shore, the coniferous stands give way to a dense mixed forest of deciduous trees and shrubs. The predominant species in this broadleaved forest (katsuyōjurin) is a live oak, the shii. Ordinarily the shii grows to be quite large, but here in the dense stands its growth is stunted. While not impenetrable, it is difficult to go through these stands once one is off the foot path. Along these paths, there are huts where one may drop in for rest or shelter, charcoal kilns, stacked firewood (maki), and piles of long poles which have been cut and stripped to be carried down the mountain paths to the road for loading in trucks. [485]

The woodlands of this area may be classified, according to use, into two categories: (1) stands, groves, or clumps of trees which provide typhoon and windbreak protection (hoanrin). Shore shelter belts or groves are known as bōchōrin, those inland or on mountain tops as bōfurin. (2) The forests, maintained and used as a resource, for such materials as firewood, lumber, and charcoal.

In Matsuda, trees are used both for protection of houses in the

137 settled area and for protection of the surrounding crops. Around
311 houses, there are common stone fences, bamboo fences and trees.
Stone fences, though solid may be toppled over. Bamboo, or dwarf
[417] bamboo fences, seemingly slight, resist the winds and remain intact
because of their flexible loose weave.

The trees on the ridges of the low lying hills or on high places
137 of ground are tall, and sturdy and jealously protected. The villagers
133 take great pride in them. Today this pride is based on the realization
of their effectiveness; in former times, their protection was associated
185 with the worship of the gods of the sacred grove (*utaki*). There are
[778] beliefs, which now seem to be dying out, that cutting these trees
would bring bad luck. Many villagers say that Saion in the 18th
[777] century intentionally invented superstitions connected with the cutting
of the trees in order to save them. Now these trees are no longer in
[773] danger of cutting, even though the penalties of the old beliefs are no
longer feared.

The following short list does not exhaust the kinds of trees and plants found in this area. It is confined to those trees, shrubs, and grasses which are most frequently found and which have the greatest local importance.

824 (1) The Ryukyuan pine (*Ryukyu-matsu* in Japanese, *Pinus luchuensis* Mayr). This tree is still one of the commonest sights of the island,
313 even in southern Okinawa. At present, it is a source of firewood, cheap lumber, and siding. It is not considered good housebuilding material because of termites (*shiroari*). Pine was used for fishing boats within living memory, but now they are made of much harder wood. In this area, the coniferous groves are along the seashore. The large stands are not cut. Scrub pine on individually owned wild land may be cut for firewood.

(2) The *fukugi* (*Garcinia spicata* Hook.). The *fukugi* is used around homes and on mountain ridges as a typhoon protection. It is fairly plentiful here and prized as a building material ([illegible]). The hard studs, beams and cross beams and the wide plank floors in the older and better houses are often made out of this wood.

(3) The *iju* (*Schima luchuensis* Nak.). This tree, common here, is used as a building material and is considered to be better than the Japanese redwood (*sugi*). It is not regarded as a good firewood.

(4) The *inumaki* (*Podocarpus macrophyllus* D. Don). This tree is not well known here, and there are no large specimens. But it is regarded as the best building material when available. Often the large, hard, rough hewn poles which are placed on stones and support the eaves of the older houses are made from this wood.

(5) The *shii* (*Shiia cuspidata*). The dense stands of this tree in the village owned forest restrict the size of the specimens, though

in isolated spots the tree grows to a considerable height. This is a favored wood for housebuilding materials. It is also used for firewood. 824 313

(6) The *mokumao* (Australian pine, *Casuarina equisetifolia* L.) This is a fast growing tree and quite plentiful in this area. The *mokumao* is commonly a shelter belt tree here. Along with the pine, and the *shii*, it is used for firewood.

(7) The *shuro* (*Prachycarpus excelsus* Wendl. Var.). Individual specimens of this palm are scattered through the village. It is found in local ravines, sinks, and near the natural bridge. When it was more plentiful, rope was made from its fibres. Before the war, it was the standard material of the farmer's raincoat. Rope making continues on a very restricted scale.

(8) The *soshiju* (*Acacia confusa* Merr.). Individual acacia trees are numerous but scattered. Frequently the tree grows on the house site as a typhoon protection. It is also used for firewood. Branches of the *soshiju* are often placed over or around young vegetables and other plants to shield them. Its leaves are placed on the dry crop lands and on paddy fields as a fertiliser.

(9) The *gajimaru* (*Ficus retusa*). This banyan tree was noticed by earlier travellers. It is a picturesque tree. The exposed roots twine around lesser shrubs, stumps, and stones. Specimens are scattered, and its chief use, here and in the southern villages, is for typhoon protection. Smaller trees, their roots growing in an around the stone fences, are a common sight. The leaves may be used for fertilizing the soil of rice fields.

(10) The cycad (*sotetsu* in Japanese, *Cycas revoluta*). This plant has already been discussed. While more frequent here than in the south, it is not plentiful. One must go farther north before the cycad becomes important in the daily economy. In Matsuda, the fronds are used to protect young growing plants, the leaves as a fertiliser for plants other than rice. Occasionally starch and a bread are made from the seed. Fermented drinks were once made from the cycad. There is no present market, as there was in the past, of fronds used in funeral wreathes. 824 [273]

(11) *Suzuki* (*miscanthus sinensis*, Chinese silver grass), commonly referred to as *kaya*, upon which we have already commented so frequently. This grass is not so important here as in the southern villages because of the availability of superior wood and fibres from the forest. It is not used as a major fuel, nor to any great extent for roofs, since the dwarf bamboo is available. The grasses collectively known as *susuki* are used as a fertilizer. The young shoots are often given to horses, cattle, and goats. One does not observe here the dominance of this plant, such a conspicuous part of the landscape of the south.

824 (12) The pandanus (*adan* or *takonoki*, Japanese scientific name, *Pandanus oderatissimus* L) is also scattered. Formerly the pandanus was widely used in Okinawa for slippers and a Panama type hat was made for export. This home industry has disappeared from Hatsuda, as it has from the south.

(13) The *i* (*Juncus effusus*, Linn. var. decipiens Buch). This rush is used in the better quality home made mats (*mushiro*). The *i* is generally the warp of these mats, with some other grass the weft. It is occasionally cultivated when rice paddies are not in use, as it requires much water. There are two varieties of *i*, the round, and the three cornered (*sankaku*). The three cornered variety is used in cheaper quality mats. The round variety with cotton string as the warp, is used in weaving the best mats.

(14) The Yambaru bamboo (*Yambaru take*). This I believe is the same as, or at least very similar to the Japanese *sasa*, or dwarf bamboo (*Arundinaria communis* Mak.). *Yambaru take* means "northern district bamboo" and throughout Okinawa the term is used to describe this valuable plant. In appearance, it resembles the *susuki* grass, but its stalks are much woodier, have a greater diameter, and the plant is much taller. In an uncleared forest, the Yambaru bamboo grows six to nine feet high and has a foothold wherever there is the slightest room in the forest. Patches often are intermingled with the *shii*, pine, and the numerous shrubs. This is the roof thatch material of the north. Its other uses include the weaving of stationary barriers (*hinpun*) in front of the house compound. The stalks are closely woven diagonally while still green. The plant has innumerable uses, depending on individual improvisation. While green, 285 415 charcoal containers may be made out of it; it may be woven into rough baskets (*zaru*) for carrying sweet potatoes, or to bind up the small bundles of firewood which are sent south. In general, the smaller diameters of Yambaru bamboo are used for roofs; the larger for bamboo fences (*takegaki*) and the face level *hinpun*. Bundles of Yambaru bamboo are sent to Naha and Shuri for weaving.

3

The Uses of the Forest

313 Clearcutting seems to be the curse of traditional Oriental forestry. Starting at the convenient base of a hill or mountain, every tree has been cut up the hill until a steep or inaccessible part is reached. This destructive exploitation has been an established Japanese forestry practice despite the obvious inducements to soil erosion.[5]

The results of clearcutting observable near Hatsuda now are a product of the overwhelming war and post-war demand for lumber and fuel. The usual practice here too is to clear cut up a steep hill or mountain, the lower and more convenient the spot, the more efficient the clearcutting. Weeds, shrubs, grasses, and the Yambaru bamboo have quickly taken the place of the trees. The man induced climax vegetation is grass and shrub. 313 [137]

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[5] A report on Japanese natural resources, as cited, 357.

Forest destruction in Okinawa does not seem to have reached the alarming proportions observed in Japan.[6] The destruction of the war increased the demand for lumber and firewood. This demand accelerated the dangerous practices and led to widespread waste.[7] Fortunately, if Matsuda is a good example, the roads were poor and underdeveloped, and the mills small. There was some brake on uncontrolled deforestation.

In the accompanying photograph of the Matsuda forest area, there was access to the summit and the trees there were cut down. For some reason, probably the steepness of the mountain side, the pine and shii on the slopes were not cut. The result was that tall stands of dwarf bamboo took over the spaces on the summit left by the trees, while the trees continued to grow on the mountain sides. [137]

Since the forest is owned by the village, any resident may cut trees for his own use. This custom has few dangers because it is a large forest with a small population in the environs. The cutting is scattered. The villager selects the tree with the consent of the village official in charge of forest control, cuts it and takes it to his courtyard. There is a charge of Y1 for each large tree, or Y1 for five small trees. This money goes to the village office. Villagers' personal needs are a small drain on the forest resource. [423] [624] [651]

The village government also sells wood. In lulls in farming, or when the farmer needs some cash, he may cut trees for the village. Wood cutting for lumber is a year round activity. September to December is the season for cutting firewood. There are two common practices in commercial dealings with wood and lumber. For cutting and gathering firewood, the village office pays Y5 a bundle, Y4 goes to the person cutting the wood, and Y1 to the village office, 60% of which it retains and 40% going to the township office. 313 655

Cutting and gathering wood is by no means an easy task. The walk to the forest may take an hour one way, though there may be truck transportation part way. The trees must be cut, the wood chopped up and made into the familiar bundles tied with a stout rush (often the i) and carried back or put in a central location to be picked up later. This marketing of wood on an individual basis is casual and intermittent. More continuous and larger scale exploitation takes place when the village office sells a certain area for cutting. The village takes 60%, the township 40% of the proceeds. 313 [655]

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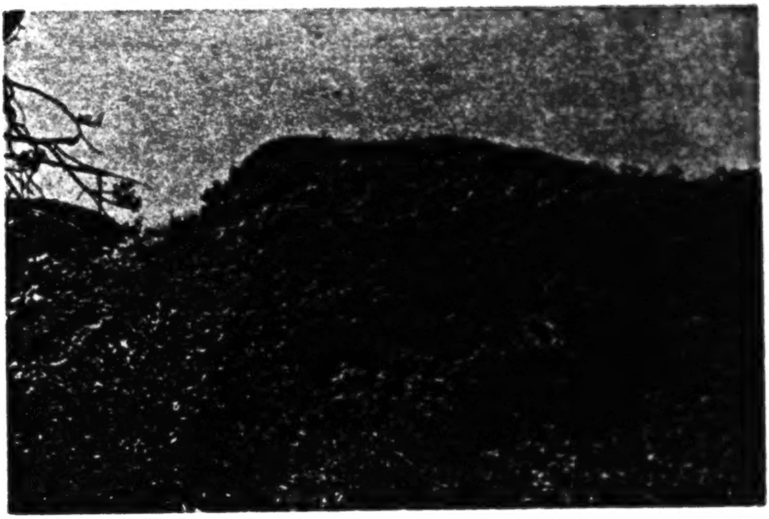
[6] Ibid, 285-87. [Text continues on p. 232 --Analyst]

[7] Okinawan forests, as cited, 2-3, 5-8.

133



A part of the Matsuda forest. There has been access to the summit and clearing has taken place there. The trees are on the slope. The light area on the summit is a growth of Yambaru bamboo which has replaced the trees.

40% of the proceeds. The trees thus sold are all cut down. After 313
clearcutting, the area is left to natural reseeding. About twenty
years hence, the clearing will again be sufficiently forested to
permit repetition of the same procedure. This follows an established
Japanese pre-war practice. This was known as the five year period
share (gonenkanbun). The forest is divided into subdivisions, each
110 chō in area. (A chō is 2.45 acres). These 110 chō plots are in [804]
turn subdivided into five parcels of twenty-two chō each. Each year
one of these five subdivisions may be cleared.

Throughout the forest, divided up into these plots, there may be a five year cycle of cutting, but not all the plots are available every year. If this were so, the forest could be cut over in five years. The system is planned so that there will always be parcels being cleared, those in various stages of regrowth, and mature stands. During and after the war, this practice broke down in favor of uncontrolled cutting.

If a family has little cash, a villager may pay his taxes in part [251]
by cutting wood. The village office pays Y4 for a bundle of firewood
(late 1951), Y2 going to the villager as a cash payment, and Y2 being
applied to his taxes for the year.

The farmer makes frequent excursions to the mountains to obtain
firewood or poles to make improvements in the compound, such as repairing
a tool or food shed. Men do this work, especially when the [462]
distances are far, but the participation of women is by no means
exceptional. Along the roads of northern Okinawa, one can frequently [482]
see old women walking down from the mountains carrying bundles of firewood [887]
on heavy poles. Much of the wood is hand carried from the
mountains; if the farmer has a horse and cart or a truck, the wood [494]
is carried to a convenient road for loading and transport.

Charcoal is manufactured in the forest area. In Okinawa charcoal 314
has many uses, mainly for heating and cooking, and for charcoal sticks
(senko). Lumps of charcoal are placed in braziers and the sticks are [372]
used as touchwood in place of matches and in ceremonial and religious
observances. Charcoal containers (tangu) are often constructed on the [296]
spot. These are round or box-shaped and made out of the dwarf bamboo. [415]

Charcoal kilns are privately owned. They are of the simplest sort. The kiln may be covered with a rude housing, built up by poles and a thatch roof. A mound of large boulders and dirt is built with an opening on the dirt floor running the length of the firing area. Poles which have been stripped and cut in various lengths, from five to nine feet, are shoved in the opening and moved forward as they burn. The smoke comes out the back.

Forest maintenance and improvement is, in part, a result of 313
community endeavor. With some exceptions, each person in the village
from 16 to 60 participates one day a year in forest improvement (sōrin).[8] 476
The participants are boys past school age, unmarried girls, and all
men up to the age of 60. These people work without personal remunera-

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[8] The usual meaning of sōrin is afforestation or reforestation. In Matsuda it is used in the sense of care and improvement of the forest.

313 476 [465] tion, but the village receives payment, through the township, from the central government for this labor. In November 1951, the rate was Y80 per day for each male, and Y50 for each female. Married women do not participate, except to take the place of a husband who cannot attend. This community project is a continuation of pre-war custom. On the day set aside for this work, the participants are taken part way by truck or bus. A half hour walk over the paths, often leading through dense thickets, brings them to the site selected. Everyone brings his own lunch, perhaps in a little metal box, or merely wrapped in banana leaves. Around noon, the girls take their buckets, go down hill to the stream, and carry up the water for the tea. Weeds and grasses, especially *miscanthus* and the dwarf bamboo are cleared out from the predominating *shii* and pine. A *shii* is known here as the *shiigi* or *shiija*. When work begins the area is almost an impenetrable thicket. The grasses and the thick dwarf bamboo have grown up in dense stands among the trees. Only these grasses are cut. Trees are not touched, except for the very young ones in overcrowded spots, or the malformed and dying trees. With the brush and grasses cut, the stand of trees is still dense.

When the undergrowth has been cut down, one can walk through the area. The cuttings, as well as the litter on the forest floor, are not removed. This wise practice keeps the soils at least at their normal productivity. In this area, the relatively low density [311] of population, the scattering of settlement, the large areas of forest compared with the cultivated areas have not brought about conditions requiring the removal of forest litter for fertilizing fields and for fuel, a practice which creates acute problems in Japan.[9]

[632] The work is supervised by a forestry official living in the village but an employee of the township. His supervision is nominal, as everyone knows what is to be done and how to do it. Like all officials of a village, he is a friend, neighbor, or relative of those who participate. He checks off the names of those who have reported. On returning from the forest at five in the afternoon, most of the villagers bring back some wood, perhaps a long pole, a bunch of dwarf bamboo, or *miscanthus* to make an outdoor broom. They are lighthearted as they return single file along the winding paths back to the village.

Pine cones are gathered for their seeds by the co-operative effort of the villagers. The cones are soaked in water so the seeds can be removed more easily. The village office takes the seeds, [C55] gives them to the township office which sells them to the central government for planting purposes. Once a year, the village receives 10% of the amount of seeds it collected for its own planting purposes.

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[9] A report on Japanese natural resources, as cited, 358.

Every three years, the villagers thin out the dwarf bamboo and other 313
grasses in the pine stands along the coast. Late in December or in 416
early January, there is a community planting of pine seeds.

The tools used in forest work are: the hand sickle (*kama*), a
bill or hook knife, the tool so familiar in agriculture; an ordinary 412
long knife resembling a butcher knife or a machete (here called a
yamakatana, or "mountain knife"), and a hooked knife on the end of
a long handle (sōringama).

Forest care goes well back into Okinawan history and antedates 313
more recent Japanese methods. This care probably was an obligation
in the old system of land tenure under which villagers had access
to forest lands with the corresponding obligation to replant.

4

An Example of Reclamation

There are cut-over tracts in Matsuda village. The Japanese 185
government, according to local residents, tried to convert these
cleared areas into agricultural land. This land reclamation (*kaitaku*) 311
began about 1935. The land was cleared of its remaining trees and
shrubs mainly by firing. (Fire has been used in Okinawa, possibly
from early times, in the clearing of land. In 1947 the use of fire [372]
in clearing and the hazards in creating forest fires were pointed
out by observers who blamed carelessness in firing as the cause of
the forest fires in the dry season).[10] Firing was easier and some
nutrients from the ash were available to the poor soils.

In Matsuda, the cleared land was hoed and the rocks were removed.
It had to be hoed deeply to make cultivation possible. The land was [241]
enriched with composts containing horse, pig, and goat manures. The
original plan was to promote a more extensive type of agriculture on
the reclaimed land because it was poorly adapted to the cultivating
methods on the better and more accessible soils. A here-and-there
(*yadori* type) settlement was planned. The houses were to be [361]
scattered on hillsides, or in the valleys, to provide sufficient
land, admittedly poor, for the settlers to cultivate. The size of
the contemplated holdings precluded hand labor of the intensity [241]
characteristic of the usual agriculture. The use of draft animals,
plows, and harrows was part of the plan.

The war and the disappearance of so many of the draft animals prevented its realization. Before the war, it was intended that each family should have a 3000 *tsubo* tract (2.45 acres). Today the residents on these lands cultivate only about 1000 *tsubo*, about the limit of manual cultivation considering the soils and the stone that remains. As a consequence, parts of the area are returning to weeds, grasses, and shrubs.

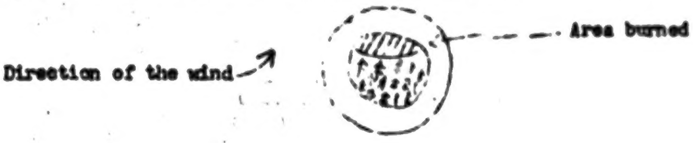
[10] Okinawa forests, as cited, 7.

361 [167] After the war, this cleared land was further settled, with American encouragement, by families returning from abroad. This subdivision of Matsuda, a here-and-there settlement, is called "the clearing" (*kaikon*). Its houses are few and far apart, and with its isolated farmsteads is in contrast with the thickly settled cluster of a typical agricultural village.

5

Conservation

313 [647] In Matsuda, the preservation of the forest is constantly encouraged. This awareness, inspired by officials of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency and its American advisors, reaches down to the school children. Before any burning is done, a permit must be secured. Fire lanes (*bōkasen*) are cut to prevent the spread of fire. These lanes are circular, and an area on the lee side is burned to prevent spread of the fire in the direction of the wind.



Fire Lane (*Bōkasen*)

In addition to the fire protection, officials of the Ryukyu Forestry Agency and specialists in the American Civil Administration are trying to discourage overcutting (*kanbatsu*) which in this area has affected the most numerous species, the pine, the *shii*, and the Japanese redwood. Since clearcutting (*kaibatsu*) so easily leads to overcutting, the former practice is also being discouraged. The newer emphasis is on selective cutting (*takubatsu*).

School children participate in forest conservation. The children
[873] attending high school at nearby Ginoza village take part in forest
improvement. An active campaign for conservation and forest fire
prevention could not begin immediately after the war. In the post-war
confusion, it was not until about 1950, with the establishment of
[647] the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, that active supervision on a central
government level could be seriously instituted. On an island wide
basis, posters and literature pointing to the dangers of forest fires
[208] have tried to bring this message to the Okinawans as well as to the
Americans. The name of Saion has been used to tie the preservation of
the Okinawan forests in with the history and traditions of the people.
The famous "Smoky" appears on posters as well.

[727] In the Matsuda area, the recent periods of relaxation or loss of control, according to local residents, were (1) about 1940 when

wood and lumber for Japanese army uses and for air raid shelters were in demand, (2) the burning in the course of the war, and (3) the intense cutting after the war for firewood and rebuilding. 313 729

Okinawan traditions relating to forest care have a positive value and it is worth while to recapitulate them here. Local old men and antiquarians in Matsuda give credit to Saion who wrote a long treatise on agriculture and is said to have intentionally devised superstitions to save trees. Death or misfortune would come to him who cut the trees, especially those in sacred groves or on the tops of mountains. Some local residents have said that the gods of the mountain are really not of religious inspiration at all, but had their origin in the conscious desire of Saion to save the trees. While there does not seem to be any truth in this assertion, since these deities of the sacred groves and mountain tops reach far back into antiquity, there is no doubt that sacred groves and houses of the mountain gods saved trees that otherwise would have been cut down. (In China and Japan, religious shrines and holy places have also been areas of the preservation of trees). 313 173 [178] [171]

Present attitudes were summarized by a Matsuda school principal who said that beliefs in mountain gods and in death and misfortune following cutting trees were dying out, and that these old beliefs had been replaced by awareness of the scientific reasons for preserving the trees. [183] [176] [227]

In Matsuda, pride in the trees, in the groves that line its hill tops and overlook the narrow valleys and ravines planted to rice and other crops is a conspicuous part of village experience. There are trees along the main road near the town that are said to have been planted in Saion's time under his inspiration.

These favorable traditions are helpful. They do not guarantee the preservation of the forests. Previous experience has shown this. From what may be surmised of the history of Okinawan forests, the destruction of modern times has been correlated with war and the expansion of economic activities. We may speculate, too, that previous deforestation was slow, inexorable and related to the clearing of accessible stands near settlements, and the extension of these settled areas as they grew. "Most of the accessible primitive forests have been exhausted," Dr. Green wrote in his report to Commodore Perry.[11] The need for fuel increases with population. In China, Japan, Korea, and Okinawa, the relation of forests, either as a source for lumber or fuel, to population growth and settlement is a very intimate one. This is a basic consideration in discussing not only the "patterns of culture" but the relation of culture to the natural environment in this part of the world. [311] [161] [191]

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[11] Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, Vol. II, 35

6

Conclusion

311 In the comparative study of these villages, certain distinctions
184 are worth summarizing. (1) In the southern villages, which lack
forest land, there is much more dependence on the uncultivated wild
land (genya) which supports the grasses. (2) The forest, in Matsuda
as elsewhere in the north, is a reserve for necessities like firewood,
thatch, charcoal and building materials, both for local use and
southern trade. (3) The shelter belts and groves have been preserved
in the north. (4) Tidewater plantings of shelter belts are needed
[245] in the south. Plantings of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, under
[647] American Civil Administration encouragement, have begun in the south
as protection from wind and salt water spray damage. These include
the mokumao, the pandanus, the hibiscus (Albizzia julibrissin Durazz,
in Japanese the nemunoki) and the hirugi (Bruguiera spp.)[12] (5)
Ecologically, the situation is more balanced in the north where a
good start seems to have been made in arresting progressive deforestation. (6) This balance, if Matsuda is a representative village,
can only be maintained by constant appraisal of the relationships of
the forest to agriculture, to the growing population, and to the
economic demands to which this leads, unless the wood and timber
demands of the island are to be met in large part by imports.

114 An occupying power like the United States, rich in modern
techniques, can do much to improve the life of a small island
648 people. If it is mindful of the history and the present features of
636 the culture, it can suggest improvements without destroying the
bases on which the culture rests.

One of its greatest accomplishments could be an aggressive and
313 continuing program of conservation and afforestation. The present
administration, through the Forestry Section of the Food and Natural
114 Resources Department, has started a program which, if permanently
pursued, could have far-reaching consequences. An emphasis on
selective cutting, conservation, fire control, tidewater plantings,
and many other measures could only be a credit to American administrators and foresters as well. The costs, as such things go, would
be moderate.

From personal experience in village life, I have no doubt that the co-operation of villagers in all parts of the island could be readily obtained in advancing a large scale afforestation program. The readiness of the people of Matsuda cannot be an exception. These things could be accomplished without an unwieldy administrative apparatus. I have been continually struck with the ability of the Okinawans, with their skill in local organization, to accomplish things quickly and simply. One need not think of large centralized programs but of many small efforts, working through the simple channels of local government.

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[12] I am indebted to Mr. Richard Varney of the Department of Food and Natural Resources, USCAR, for this information.

In the decades to come, a thriving and self-supporting forest, with shelter belts and tidewater plantings, will be a great asset to the Okinawans, an accomplishment in which the American people can share with pride.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 ACT Okinawa ACT

CHAPTER XII

VILLAGE COMMERCE AND TRADITIONAL FINANCING

000

1 Village Shops and Businesses

2 Mutual Loan Groups

3 Associations

4 The Cash Economy of Rural Villages

1

Village Shops and Businesses

Village stores, small in number and modest in size, furnish their own people many essential services, but the offerings differ from place to place in number and kind, so that there are always commercial contacts of a sort with nearby villages or towns. This is brought out in the accompanying table of business and personal service establishments in each of the villages. 443 628

Village Shops, Businesses, Personal Service Enterprises 348 365 366 368

Type	Number of Enterprises in:			
	Hanashiro	Minatogawa	Nagamo	Matsuda
Rice Mills	1	a/	a/	1
Sugar Mills	1		1	3
Small Retail Shops	3	5	3	5
Power Plant		1	b/	1
Import Store	c/	1	b/	1
Saw Mill				1
Blacksmith	d/	d/	1	
Retail Butcher Shop		1		
Motion Picture Theatre	e/	e/	e/	f/
Public Bath House	b/	2	b/	f/
Village Inn		1		f/
Eating Places		1		
Barbershop	g/	e/	a/	1

a No need for rice mills, no rice grown
b Served by Minatogawa
c In nearby Asato
d Nagamo serves these and other villages in the township
e In Horikawa, opposite Minatogawa
f Served by Ginoza village
g Served by Gushichan village

Rice mills (seimaisho) are recent in rural Okinawa. The mill in Hanashiro was installed in 1940. It serves nearby villages. The mill in Matsuda, also a recent introduction, is more modern. In each case, the mill has two machines of Japanese manufacture, one for hulling, the other for polishing. 256

Sugar mills (seitojo) vary in quality in the communities. Hanashiro has a machine for crushing cane. In Matsuda, war destruction 249

249 forced a return to crushing the cane by the use of rollers driven
by a horse at the end of a sweep. Before the war, Matsuda had
sugar mills driven by machinery. Mills may either be village
423 owned, as in Hanashiro, or owned by small co-operatives, like that
in Matsuda whose members rent it to others when not using it them-
[427] selves.

Village stores generally occupy the front part of a family's
443 living quarters. They are operated mainly by women. A woman past
middle age sitting on the floor of her shop, talking with visitors
[462] or reading the paper, is a familiar sight in an Okinawan village.
A village may have several tiny stores. They do not compete with
one another in the commercial sense of the word. Prices are the
same. Their inventories are the standard ones. The chief dif-
ferences are in size and variety. Some sell the strong alcoholic
[273] drink (*awamori*) called *sake* in Okinawa.

Each storekeeper has a clientele of friends and relatives,
but one is not under social obligation to repeatedly trade at the
same place. Relatives sometimes own adjoining shops. In Japan,
it is said that once a person starts trading at a shop he continues
[171] to do so. To switch would deprive the shopkeeper of business that
could be counted on, and imply dissatisfaction with the service
rendered. The first purchase creates mutual obligations between
the storekeeper and his customer which are not broken casually.[1]
This is not the case with these village stores. One patronizes the
shop that is convenient, that is open when one wants to buy, that
has the desired article. There is an informal atmosphere and lack
[434] of bustle in these tiny shops because so many are operated for sup-
plementary income by wives or female relatives of the breadwinner.
A wife may sit in her shop, as I have often seen her in Minatogawa,
taking care of her baby, sewing on her treadle sewing machine, and
[404] interrupting her work when necessary for a customer. The cash in-
volved is small, often only a few yen, and money is carefully ac-
counted for. These shops satisfy a surprising amount of the village
demand for food, food supplements, notions, clothing, and household
goods. Larger, more expensive, or more specialized items such as
books, suits, furniture are in the towns like Itoman or Naha in the
south, or Nago and Ishikawa in the north.

An inventory of one of these village stores indicates the types
of articles in frequent and constant demand. In one typical store in
Minatogawa the following purchases could be made:

Foods

[262] Starch
[272] Condensed milk for children

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[1] I was told this by Japanese and by *Nisei* who were in Japan during the occupation. I do not know how widespread or how characteristic this practice is of all retail trade there.

Japanese canned fish: mackerel, bonito, clams, whale meat hash 443
Noodles, buckwheat spaghetti and macaroni type pastes
Cookies, stored in glass jars, and sold singly 262
Sweet rolls (*manju*) from a town bakery, and sweetened bread (*pan*) 272
Tea
Aji no moto
White sugar
Soy bean oil

Soft Drinks and Candy 443

Bottled lemon and orange ades [272]
Cocoa Cola
Gum
Various candies sold by the piece, also stored in glass jars on the counter.

Notions

Needles and thread
Buttons of various sizes
Trimmings and ribbons [412]
Braids for making and trimming kimonos
hair pins, and combs

Clothing

Clogs (*geta*) [291]
Undershirts
Fibre sandals

Toilet Articles

Perfumes and toilet waters
Shampoos, liquid and powdered. [302]
Pomades and brilliantines [515]
Toothbrushes
Soaps
Toilet paper

Stationery

School tablets and notebooks [212]
Pencils
Comic books (in Japanese)

Medicines

Aspirin
Stomach powders [278]
Eye lotions

Alcoholic Beverages

443 Japanese and American canned beer
Japanese type *sake* (a light rice wine resembling sauterne)
[273] Okinawan *sake* (*awamori*)

Miscellaneous

Charcoal sticks
[276] Brass and nickel plated Japanese pipes
Small dishes
[415] *Sake* bottles
Oil burners to keep mosquitos away
[416] Flashlights, bulbs, and batteries
Matches
Japanese and American tobaccos
Fishing lamps and the *ika* lamp (fishing villages only)

Transactions are usually on a cash basis, although some customers
[437] pay at the end of the week. In one such store, the gross sales averaged
¥800 a day with a net profit of about 10%. (The yen is pegged at 120
to the US dollar). During the day and the early evening, the village
stores are meeting places, especially if, like Minatogawa, several to-
[366] gether make up a small business center.

Supplies are delivered to village stores by truck or sometimes by
443 bus. Often the owner goes to the larger towns to buy. Young boys are
499 an important cog in the distribution system. They deliver candies,
cookies, and other small articles which are carried in five gallon lard
tins on racks over the rear mudguard of their bicycles. They ride up
[857] to the store, count out their candies or cookies, receive payment, and
cycle on to the next store over a route which includes several villages.
These boys work out of larger towns like Itoman and Nago. Baking goods,
[262] bread (*pan*) really a sweet dough with a jelly-like filling, cookies and
candies are distributed in this manner. Sometimes housewives make
cookies and cakes to sell to village stores.

There is not much house to house selling or soliciting. Occasionally
443 women come to the villages with a selection of ready made clothing or
cloth. In Minatogawa, an itinerant drug vendor periodically goes
through the village ringing his bell, selling various Japanese patent
medicines mainly for colds, headaches, constipation, and stomach aches.

444 Import stores (*hykujo*), also operated privately, are a different
kind of enterprise than the village shop. They have been set up under
262 the American occupation. Larger wholesalers supply the village re-
511 tailers. These stores deal in a restricted number of commodities, such
as rice, flour, soy bean sauce, wheat, and cooking oils. Sales are made
to villagers on a rationing system based on the number in the family, its
age distribution, pregnancy, and whether the head is engaged in heavy
[442] work. The intent of the import stores is to make food available, at
reasonable cost, to those who cannot grow their own, or whose own produce

needs supplementation. Hence, a farmer cannot buy so much as a fisherman. 444 A rice farmer, if he is eligible at all, cannot purchase so much as a sweet potato grower. 262 These stores fill a genuine need. They have alleviated hardship and done much to improve the monotonous pre-war diet. 511 In the villages, they are a concrete reminder of direct American contact. There is not a store in every village, but each village has ready access to one.

The rural blacksmith takes care of the needs of farmers and stonecutters. 326 One such shop in Nagamo serves many villages in the Gushichan area. 413 The forge is of simple construction. The air is blown by a sort of box bellows. The operator sits down, as if he were in a row boat, and by pushing and pulling the handle (which has a T-end grip like a hand pump) moves the piston horizontally back and forth. The blacksmith repairs agricultural and stonecutting tools and makes new tools, chiefly hoes and spikes for the harrow.

There are no good inns, restaurants or tea houses in the villages. 265 In Minatogawa a Japanese inn of rude construction and comfort caters to parties for the entertainment of visitors who have business with local people.

Getting a haircut or a bath may involve going to another village. 305 Like the stores, barbershops are little social centers, especially during bad weather when villagers are not working and take the opportunity to have their hair cut.

2

Mutual Loan Groups

In China and Japan, mutual loan groups have had a long history. 474 In essence, they are groups associated for the purpose of borrowing and lending money, the capital being derived from contributions of the 426 membership. There is an element of chance when members bid against one another or draw lots for a loan.[2] [171]

Each member of a loan group advances an agreed upon share. The total amount is then available as a lump sum to one of them as a borrower. The borrower repays principal and interest in monthly installments. The remaining members advance the same amount each on the following month to another borrower. In this way, there is a continuous cycle of lending

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[2] They are known variously as mo-ai (Japanese), mu-e (Okinawan) tanomoshi and yūrei (Japanese). Groups organised on a monthly basis are tsukikiyurei or tsukimoai (Japanese), and on an annual basis as nimu-e (Okinawan), ninmo-ai (Japanese). At present there are no annual groups because of uncertainties regarding the future value of money. Now loans are normally for a 10-12 month period.

474 426 and repayment of principal and interest. Members are involved in these transactions out of different motives. The organiser is usually the one most interested in borrowing money. Other participants may wish to earn interest on spare cash. They are the bankers of the group. Between the person who needs immediate cash and the bankers are those who would like to borrow money during the life of the group but are indifferent as to the precise time, hoping to bid and obtain a loan at a favorable rate to buy a pig or to repair a house.

The most complex of these loan groups were found in Minatogawa. A group may have any number of members; usually there are from 10 to 15, but there may be only five to nine. Each group has a set of regulations (no-ai no kisoku). In Minatogawa money is borrowed for house or boat building, for buying pigs, or for other business purposes.

The first meeting begins with a party given by the persons most
[574] interested in starting the group. On the following months, more
modest parties given at the homes of other members are in conjunction
with the bidding and distribution of the money. The entertainments
[262] of the first and last meetings include pork or goat meat, bean curd,
tea, and sake. At the first meeting the organiser is the host. Rules
are established as to whether the indebtedness shall be put into
writing and as to guarantors. (Before the war, occasionally a borrower
ran off to Japan or to one of the other islands and was never heard
[476] of again). Now a guarantor is required, but this is a formality. The
[577] system really rests on mutual trust and on the co-operation of friends
and relatives of known honesty. One person may belong to several
groups. Multiple membership is naturally confined to those with plenty
of ready cash who have no immediate use for it. A group whose membership is poor will subscribe from Y100 to Y300 a month, a moderately
well-to-do one from Y2000-3000. There are now about 30 in Minatogawa.
Members usually are present or former residents of the village. Men
and women participate. These gatherings combine business with a
friendly social atmosphere so typical of Okinawan business transactions
and official contacts. The mats of the room are arranged to form an
[353] empty square in the center of the room, and this square becomes a
combination counting board and refreshment table.

In one type, the loan is awarded after secret bidding (usually by writing on a piece of paper), the award going to the lowest bidder, for he is offering the highest discount. For example, Y20,000 are available for a loan to be repaid in ten installments of Y2100 each (Y2000 principal and Y100 interest). If a member wants the money badly enough, he may bid Y17,500, accepting that amount and paying back on the basis of Y20,000 plus interest. He thus would get the award over a man who bid at a discount of Y2000 or Y18,000.

In one form of the discount type, the organiser automatically gets the first loan. He does not bid and does not lose by discounting. He has started the group for this purpose. On the second and succeeding months, the bidding is secret and competitive. Assuming ten members pooling Y2000 each the first month, in the second nine members advance

¥2000 each to make ¥18,000 available. If the lowest bid is ¥1800 per share, the borrower accepts a discount (waribiki) of ¥200 for each ¥2000 advanced and will repay ¥2100 a month, which includes ¥100 interest (rishi) 474 426

Amount of the loan	¥18,000	(2000 x 9)
Less Discount	- 1,800	(200 x 9)
Actual Amount Received	¥16,200	
Interest paid	900	(100 x 9)
Actual Cost of the Loan	¥2700	(¥1800 plus ¥900)

The proceeds from the discount may be distributed as a dividend to those who furnished the money, or it may be held in the group for additional loans.

The essentials are summarized in the accompanying tables. There are 11 members, A through K. The first month, A, the initiator, gets ¥20,000, and by the end of the period (the beginning of the 11th month) has repaid ¥21,000 in ten monthly installments of ¥2100 each. In the seventh month G is the borrower. He bid ¥1880 for ¥2000 loan from each of the remaining members and received ¥7520 (¥1880 x 4) and repays ¥8400 (¥2100 x 4). In this example, K is the man with the money. He has advanced ¥18,385, the sum of column K, and has received principal, interest, and discount payments of ¥21000 (total of line 11, A through J), making ¥2615 for himself).

This type of mutual loan group was found only in Minatogawa. There is a three time rule for the initiator (hakkinin) of the group. [184] He is expected, after the life of the first one, to start two more, whose membership may or may not be the same. It is considered unlucky [777] for him to fail to do this. He will suffer misfortune, such as illness, poverty, or death. Whether these eventualities are feared is hard to say, but the three time rule is always observed. The initiator also is responsible for calling on guarantors to pay amounts in default.

Since these groups are composed of individuals who trust one another, there is flexibility in handling the funds. Generally one meeting a month is held. But there may be 15 in a year. If extra money is picked up in the summer months, two meetings might be held in July, August, and September. Certain fictions are recognized. If A needs more than ¥20,000, he may, when it is D's turn, and with his consent, act as if he were D, and get an additional loan in place of D. These maneuverings depend on consultation and discussion within the group. Very short term loans are seldom made. But the same object can be achieved by splitting a loan with the actual borrower, the silent borrower assuming the interest and repayments for his portion of the total.

The discount type is more adapted to a cash economy in which fishermen or business men have available money, and borrowers are willing to pay substantial amounts for immediate loans. The agricultural [184]

[Text continues top of P. 248--analyst]

Minatogawa Loan Groups--Loans and Repayments

Period	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
1st Month	*	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000
2nd	2100	*	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800
3rd	2100	2100	*	1825	1825	1825	1825	1825	1825	1825	1825
4th	2100	2100	2100	*	1850	1850	1850	1850	1850	1850	1850
5th	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1770	1770	1770	1770	1770	1770
6th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1840	1840	1840	1840	1840
7th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1880	1880	1880	1880
8th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1810	1810	1810
9th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1910	1910
10th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1700
11th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	---
Amount of Loan	20000	18000	16000	14000	12000	10000	8000	6000	4000	2000	0000
Loan less Discount	20000[a]	16200	14600	12950	10620	9200	7520	5430	3820	1700	0000
Amount Paid Back	21000	18900	16800	14700	12600	10500	8400	6300	4200	2100	0000

The Asterisk represents the borrower.
Amounts to the right of the asterisk represent loans to him.
Amounts below the asterisk represent his repayments
Amounts above the asterisk show his loans to others.

[a] The examples are the assumed highest bids. A received the loan without discount.

Monthly Balances and Final Settlement
(Based on Previous Table)

	Amount Returned	Amount Paid Out
1st Month		20,000
2nd	2,100	16,200
3rd	4,200	14,600
4th	6,300	12,950
5th	8,400	10,620
6th	10,500	9,200
7th	12,600	7,520
8th	14,700	5,430
9th	16,800	3,820
10th	18,900	1,700
11th	21,000	
Total	115,500	102,040
Difference (Value of Interest and Discounts)		Y 13,460

villages have the simple interest type, with or without the bidding feature. The order of borrowing may be determined by discussion, and, if more than one person wishes a loan at the same time, lots are drawn. 479 426 184

In the interest (rishi) type, a man borrows, for example, Y2000 with ten men contributing Y200 each and repays Y2200 in ten monthly installments. (Here the interest is Y10 per month for each Y100 advanced). If a borrower cannot meet a payment, the members make up the deficit which then becomes an additional obligation on the part of the borrower. 479 426

Mutual loan groups were found in Matsuda and Hanashiro, though they are not so strong as in Minatogawa. The amounts involved are less, reflecting the poorer cash standing of the farmer. Guarantors (hoshonin) are not required since the members know one another well. Loans are generally made for the construction or repair of houses, pens, sheds, or stalls, for hiring a pig breeder, to buy a domestic animal, or to tide one over a crop failure. A group may be organised for the specific purpose of enabling each member, during the life of the loan group, to purchase a small pig.

Women may have their own groups. In Hanashiro the only group known to me was composed of women. Again, assume twenty members who advance Y100 each, a total of Y2000 initially, and who have agreed upon an interest rate of Y10 per month on each Y100 borrowed. The life of the group is twenty months. The progress of the loans and monthly repayments is shown in the following table. It illustrates the continuous turning in of principal and interest payments to furnish capital for new loans. The multiplications in parentheses show the number of members times the amount involved per member in each transaction. In Hanashiro, there are three of these women's groups. This is said to be a decline from the pre-war number. [562]

In Matsuda these groups are not important in financing the farmer. It is estimated that there are five groups, with 15-20 members each, operating in Matsuda. Bidding may be dispensed with, the interest is divided among the borrowers and not turned back for further loans, and the sequence of borrowers is determined either by discussion or by lot. These were Y500 groups, higher monthly advances than in Hanashiro, but the principle is the same.

The limited use of these mutual loan groups in the agricultural villages may be temporary, and may not be typical of all Okinawa. According to residents of Hanashiro and Matsuda, they were not widely used before the war. They have now further declined in importance except in Minatogawa. It is rather difficult to account for this, considering the need for money and the reluctance of villagers to go to banks and institutions for loans. The fear of red tape and entertainment costs is the chief deterrent to institutional borrowing. Perhaps the failure is merely indicative of insufficient money to lend, and inability to repay what is borrowed. Farmers have little money to advance, little surplus to repay loans from others. [934] [953]

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Hanashiro
Women's Mutual Loan Group
The Cycle of Loans and Repayments

Borrower of the:	Advances Made by Members	Repayments Made by Borrower-Members	Amount Available For Lending Each Month
1st Month	Y2000 (100 x 20)		Y 2000
2nd	1900 (100 x 19)	Y110 (110 x 1)	2010
3rd	1800 (100 x 18)	220 (110 x 2)	2020
4th	1700 (100 x 17)	330 (110 x 3)	2030
5th	1600 (100 x 16)	440 (110 x 4)	2040
6th	1500 (100 x 15)	550 (110 x 5)	2050
7th	1400 (100 x 14)	660 (110 x 6)	2060
8th	1300 (100 x 13)	770 (110 x 7)	2070
9th	1200 (100 x 12)	880 (110 x 8)	2080
10th	1100 (100 x 11)	990 (110 x 9)	2090
11th	1000 (100 x 10)	1100 (110 x 10)	2100
12th	900 (100 x 9)	1210 (110 x 11)	2110
13th	800 (100 x 8)	1320 (110 x 12)	2120
14th	700 (100 x 7)	1430 (110 x 13)	2130
15th	600 (100 x 6)	1540 (110 x 14)	2140
16th	500 (100 x 5)	1650 (110 x 15)	2150
17th	400 (100 x 4)	1760 (110 x 16)	2160
18th	300 (100 x 3)	1870 (110 x 17)	2170
19th	200 (100 x 2)	1980 (110 x 18)	2180
20th		2090 (110 x 19)	End of Period

The twentieth member, the banker gets Y2090 from the other members, which, when added to the Y100 plus Y10 interest which he would have paid had he borrowed the money, equals Y2200.

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[655] [177] The availability of government loans for homes, part of the American program for the rehabilitation of the Ryukyus may point the way to an acceptable type of financing in which resistance to institutional borrowing is lowered. The mutual loan groups and bank and government loans, however, operate in different spheres. The sums involved in the small loan groups are too modest for a major undertaking, but they are substantial enough to help with minor, yet otherwise difficult, purchases or improvements.

3

Associations

474 Associations and co-operative groups of farmers, fishermen, and animal breeders, part of the Japanese program for the organization

and improvement of rural life, have continued to function. The most important of these are the agricultural associations (*nogyōkumiai*). In Okinawa, they are organized on a township level. The agricultural association is usually near the township office. It is both a buying and a selling concern. It buys and sells agricultural tools and simple farm machinery. The association may also buy and introduce into the agricultural village new techniques, tools, insect and pest control preparations, and other supplies imported from America or Japan. Buying and distribution for sale are at present more active functions than making loans. In any one year, a borrower may obtain a ¥200 loan, but the chief difficulty (Dec. 1951) is that the association has little money. In Gushichan village, the association buys and resells firewood, imported from the northern mountain region. 474 [172] [439]

The fishermen's association in Minatogawa has already been described. It may buy and distribute fishing gear, gas and oil, and other marine necessities.

Within the village itself, there are co-operative groups. The sugar mill co-operative of Hanashiro is typical. This has about 125 members, both men and women, and includes most of the families of the village. Each member pays to the association a fee for the use of the mill including the machinery and the cooking vessels. Of the fee, 60% goes to care and maintenance, 10% to the head of the co-operative who handles the administrative details, while 30% is held in reserve and redistributed as a rebate to members after the end of the season, if there is a surplus. The sugar is individually produced and sold. The village co-operative is concerned only with the care and maintenance of the mill and its facilities.

In Matsuda a pig raiser's co-operative (*yōtonkumiai*) has been started. The main emphasis is on breeding rather than on marketing. The group, which has about 61 members, is a result of the intense interest which has followed the introduction of American breeds. The head of this group is chosen by the membership. The organisation is interested in the diffusion of information on the care and breeding of pigs and its membership participates in regional meetings of pig raisers.

4

The Cash Economy of Rural Villages

The use of money in Okinawa seems to be recent. Hall and M'Leod in 1816 wrote that they observed no money, and that the Okinawans did not know its uses. Commodore Perry, who had a crisp reaction both to the Okinawans and to Hall's descriptions of them, said they knew "the value of gold and silver very well, and they traffic for the Chinese 'cash', of which from twelve to fourteen hundred are equivalent to the Spanish dollar." Chamberlain (1895) said that the Okinawans had 436 175

436 no native money and used the Japanese cash, and that the Japanese
175 did not permit a native coinage.[2]

Up to the war, only bills of low denominations circulated in
436 the villages. In Minatogawa, an old lady, now about 73, said that
before the war she had never seen a ¥100 note, which at that time
was worth slightly over US$25. But since the 19th century, new conditions
have pried the farmer loose from barter and self-sufficiency.
434 There is little to warrant a belief that rural villages are self-
sufficient. The most elementary obligations, such as sending one's
511 children to school, require cash. An average rural family of five
may require from ¥40-60,000 a year.

Cash outlays include: (1) Entertainment, including the purchase
[574] of sake. Entertainment is an integral part of the culture and cannot
be dismissed as a luxury. (2) Clothing. (3) Fertilizer. (4) Tobacco.
(5) Soap. No soap is made in the home. American soap flakes are
[388] highly prized, but generally are not purchased because of the cost.
(6) Hair cutting. (7) Food and food supplements, such as noodles
[262] and vermicelli types of paste, cooking oils, salt, soy sauce, meat,
fish, seaweed (kombu), rice, if not grown and purchases from the import
store. (8) Fuel, charcoal, charcoal sticks. (9) Transportation for
business or pleasure. (10) Newspapers. Many subscriptions are can-
[204] celled when the price goes up. (11) Tools and tool repairs, but maintenance
is small after the original investment. (12) School books and
[872] contributions to schools for purchasing special items. (13) Medicines
and mid-wives' fees. (14) Occasional purchases of lumber, stone, or
[651] tile. (15) Taxes.

In the farming areas, sugar and pigs are the only significant
434 sources of cash income. Sweet potatoes, rice, eggs, and soy beans may
be sold, but the amounts are either too small or the selling price too
low to provide substantial amounts of cash. Occasionally younger sons
may have jobs which bring in money, and a farmer or his sons may have
a horse cart for hire.

In Minatogawa, cash outlays, in addition to the items already
mentioned, are required for nets, gasoline, and oil. Cash comes from
sales of fish, pigs, and stone. The lack of rice, an insufficient
sweet potato crop for year round needs, imports of firewood from the
[511] north and the occasional need to purchase grasses for thatch make this
community more dependent on cash than the agricultural community.

434 The economic problem of the fisherman is also different from that
of the farmer. Both the farmer and the fisherman must pay cash for
561 medicines, fertilizer, alcoholic drinks, clothing, various special but
traditional articles of the diet, taxes, tools, and supplies. The
184 farmer, however, can produce much of his food. He can exist on sweet
potatoes, bean curd, and bean paste soup, and if need be may spend
little money on food. The fisherman cannot exist on fish alone.
Fishermen without fields must depend on cash earnings to buy the

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[2] Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, Vol. I, 160, 220-21. Chamberlain, The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, Geo. Journal 5 (1895), 313.

necessities of life. Fishermen are more accustomed to dealing in 434
currency transactions and these are more frequent and freer than in 511
the farming village. 184

[437]
The economic history of the average Okinawan agricultural village from the late 19th century when Japanese control became firm
to the present is largely an account of the fluctuations in rice, 433
sweet potato and sugar cane production. This history is difficult to reconstruct on a local level because of the destruction of records and inexact memories. The point is nevertheless worth making, if only to stress again that these villages are not isolated rural economies. The general experience seems to have been that
crop acreages have contracted and expanded in response to local [439]
needs and to the demands of trade with Japan.

In the Hanashiro area, to use one example, there is a current 433
interest in rice production because of its high value, and sugar cane
seems to be displacing some sweet potato acreage. Sugar, even though 435
coarse and unrefined, has a market in Japan strong enough to warrant production for the cash income at the expense of the cheap and plentiful sweet potato.

One of the most significant facts of economic life in these 423
villages has been the maintenance of individual farms and crop variety. 311
Plantation monoculture, subject to international price fluctuations and often conducive to local impoverishment, has not developed.

Private ownership in land, the inheritance of land within the 423
family system, individual farms, tiny as they are, have undoubtedly 428
been a stabilizing influence on these village economies.

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PART FIVE

FAMILY LIFE

CHAPTER XIII

FROM INFANCY TO EARLY ADULTHOOD

600

1 The Okinawan Midwife

2 Birth Customs and Convalescence

3 Naming the Child

4 The Early Years

5 The School Child

6 Young Adulthood and the Engagement

1

The Okinawan Midwife

Children are born under the care of a midwife (sanba). Physicians 844
do not attend at birth, but they may be called later if complications [759]
develop. Native doctors (yabu), who have now largely disappeared, are
not consulted. One midwife may serve several villages. She is engaged
some months before the expected birth. Midwives are highly respected. [554]
The older ones have added to their initial training a wealth of knowledge
based on experience. A midwife in Ginosa village takes care of the expectant mothers of Matsuda and one in Gushichan village serves those of
Hanashiro and Minatogawa. Midwives long resident in an area are beloved
by the children they have delivered. The children when adult visit her,
or she is invited to the homes of those at whose birth she has assisted. [574]

Prenatal examinations are made by the midwife in the 3rd, 5th, 7th,
and 9th month of pregnancy, the most thorough of those being the last [843]
three. The mother goes to the midwife for the examinations, but the
birth takes place in the home. A birth other than in one's home is [777]
considered bad luck.

Starting with the 5th month, the belly is wrapped around with a 843
flannel sash (a haraobi). On the 5th month, it may be 7 shaku (about 292
7 feet) long and about 8 inches wide; by the ninth month, a 9 shaku
length is used. The sash is not needed, in one midwife's opinion,
during the last month of pregnancy, but it may be left on. While
the sash is worn, it is taken off three times a month for laundering.
The purpose of the binding is to keep the child in its natural position
and to prevent it from turning and causing an abnormal delivery.

After birth, the child may be slapped on the backside if the mother 844
has been in labor 17 hours or more. According to one midwife, the
usual labor for a first child is about 17 hours, and 7 for the second.
The midwife cuts the umbilical cord and may, but not always, dispose
of the afterbirth (taiban, iya in Japanese).

In the villages, this may be disposed of by women relatives or
by the father. It is buried, following an old custom, behind the
house in a place where it does not rain. In Matsuda, women relatives
wrap the placenta in a cloth and bury it, while friends, relatives,
and children gather around and laugh. There are variants of this [184]
custom. In Minatogawa, the afterbirth is wrapped in a cloth and buried
back of the house by the father. Neighboring children gather and laugh
while this is going on. The reason for the laughing is that the new
born child may always smile and be gay. In another variant, the father
alone does the laughing. In all villages studied, this custom in its
variants still has vitality.

According to a Ginosa midwife, maternal death in child birth is 165
unusual. Hanashiro women said the same. Miscarriages in early 843

843 pregnancy are also said to be rare, although miscarriages in later
pregnancy up to two or three months before the birth are more numerous
because of the continuing heavy work of the mother in the fields. The
mother in the agricultural village normally works up to the time for
849 the birth. She eats her normal diet. After birth, the child is placed
on a large comforter (futon) beside the mother.

The midwife, after delivery, goes once a day for a week to the
mother's home. Her fee is not decided upon before hand, but according
[846] to custom, averages ¥350 for a normal and ¥500 for a difficult birth,
a low fee probably enforced by the poverty and lack of cash of farm
[465] families. (In Naha corresponding fees are said to be ¥1-2000).

There is no uniform way of feeding the child after birth. In
853 most cases the child is not breast fed until after the third day due
to the fact that mothers have little milk at this time. The first,
second, and the third days it is fed warm water with small amounts of
white sugar, but this is by no means universal. Some mothers have
said that they give the child the breast 4 or 5 hours after birth. In
any case, the child very quickly becomes accustomed to feeding at the
breast, and this continues for an indeterminate period, depending on
the mother and the child. It may be for two years, or until the next
[862] child comes. In all communities studied, other arrangements are made
in the unlikely event that the mother does not have milk of her own.
The child may be given evaporated cow's milk or friends or relatives
nurse the child. In Minatogawa, if a woman has special duties or
takes a trip out of town and cannot take her child with her, she can
pay to have it nursed.

843 One belief regarding pregnancy still exists among the old in the
Ginoza area. If a new house is being built during the pregnancy of the
woman of the house, the cap of the roof is not put on until after the
birth has taken place.

2

Birth Customs and Convalescence

852
844
231
[184] In Minatogawa, and to a much lesser extent in Hanashiro, birth
customs are related to certain beliefs about the pig pen. These were
not known in Matsuda. In the two southern villages they have virtually
disappeared, except among the old. According to a Hanashiro farmer's
wife, the child on the day of its birth is washed, dressed in new
[189] clothes, and carried to the pig pen, which is supposed to frighten
away evil spirits (bakemono).[1]

[1] [See footnote 1, bottom of p. 257--analyst]

away evil spirits (bakemono).[1] From the pig sty the child is then 844
taken to the kitchen, where a pot of rice has been cooking. Soot
from the outside of the pot is taken up with the middle finger of the 852
right hand and a round black spot pressed on the forehead above the
bridge of the nose between the eyebrows. The reason for this could
not be ascertained.

Beliefs in the power of a pig sty to ward off evil spirits are 854
still held in Minatogawa and the customs were generally practiced
up to the beginning of the war. But these beliefs were related more 776
to celebrations following the birth of the child than to the birth 231
itself. The elements of these beliefs seemed to be that the after- [772]
world was close to this world. If a child were not protected, the
spirits of the afterworld would steal the child and take him back.
The party celebrating the birth lasted a whole week, usually starting [594]
each evening about 8 and ending at 8 the following morning. Guests
stayed up all night to prevent the child from being stolen, for if
anyone went to sleep, the spirit would enter. Spirits followed be-
hind the guest and were especially dangerous after 10 at night.
The spirits however were frightened by the pigs; guests arriving
during the danger hours went to the pig pen first to scare off the
spirit following them, before entering the house. There was no
evidence, in the parties I attended, of any present observance of [183]
this custom by young parents. The week of all night parties is no
longer held.

These beliefs were found in Minatogawa. Hanashiro informants
had heard of such customs, but were vague about them. While their [184]
seeming absence in Matsuda may be due to incomplete data, there may
be another explanation. These beliefs may have been picked up by
fishing people from other sources.

One other birth custom known as jiru belongs to the recent 846
history of the island. Jiru, as explained in Chapter V, is a fire
place sunk in the floor of an Okinawan house, often in the corner of [354]
the dining room which adjoins a hall or a sleeping room, and near
the kitchen. Convalescence was called jiru because mother and child
warmed themselves by the device. Today convalescence may be called
jiru, though it has nothing to do with the old custom, which in the
literature has been referred to as "roasting."

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[1] When I discussed this and the following beliefs relating to pigs 184
with people in Matsuda, they ridiculed them and said there was
no truth in it, implying that people in the south did not know
what they were talking about. Subsequent rechecking convinced
me that this was not so and that the beliefs in Minatogawa represent
differences in the rural culture.

846 [354] In Matsuda, the _jiru_ used after childbirth was either a small fireplace about three feet square set in the floor or an ordinary brasier (_hibachi_). The mother and the child were put in a dark sleeping room outfitted with the warmer. Sometimes the entire body of the mother was heated; in other cases, she seems to have placed herself so that the vagina received most of the heat. This was done regardless of season and happened in the hottest summer. The mother and child stayed in this room for 20 days. Attending female relatives went in and out only to keep things clean and to take care of the laundry. This form of _jiru_ is said to have been practiced in Matsuda until 10 or 15 years ago.

In Hanashiro, this custom of warming was substantially the same. Regardless of season, the mother with her child retired to a dark room heated with a stove or a brasier. The mother nursed the child and no one entered or disturbed the two except for necessary attentions. No special portions of the body were heated. According to one Hanashiro woman, this custom existed up to 1940.[2] In present day practice, the mother rests for about 9 days including the day the child is born. During this period, the two are left alone. Necessary changes of clothing are put out and washed by female relatives. Following the rest period, the mother gets up, female friends and relatives clean the place thoroughly, and the house is back to normal.

In Minatogawa, warming is said to have disappeared about 20 years ago. The present period of convalescence lasts also about 9 days, with visits by grandparents on the day of birth, friends of the father on the second day, and those of the mother on the third.

[M 849] These customs seem to have died out because of the introduction, through Japan, of modern medicine and the growth of midwifery. The knowledge of a Japanese trained midwife is based on a study of anatomy and a thorough exposition of child birth and child care. Some lore, such as lucky days, and the reckoning of the tide enter, but her techniques are based on medical practice.[3]

[2] An old man, a village official, said warming had disappeared 30 years ago, but in this matter the mother's testimony is probably the more reliable. In either event, both point to the relative recency of the practice.

[3] One Japanese midwife uses as her guide two volumes by Kinoshita, Seichu. Sanbagakukogi (Lectures on the Science of Midwifery), 1923. Vol. I deals with normal, Vol. II with difficult deliveries.

3

Naming the Child

On the day of his birth, the child is given a name, but this is not the one it carries throughout life. The latter name, sometimes called the school name, may be given 5 days after birth, counting the date of the birth. This custom of double naming is still used in Hanashiro and Minatogawa, though, according to local residents, it disappeared from Matsuda ten years ago. It is hard to discover the reasons for this double naming. Perhaps the first name is a temporary one to be used for the first crucial days of the child's life. If he survives, he receives his permanent one. This name, while known to the child, is not ordinarily retained when he gets his second name. Among the very old, however, some of these first names have been retained through life.[4] In Hanashiro, young and old alike may be known by both names, but the younger are apt to use the full given name. Adults and the old are known by both names. 553 [164]

The names given on the birth day are often the occasion of laughter, as some have the same pronunciation as common names of household utensils, agricultural tools, or domestic animals. The following list was obtained in Hanashiro but the same names were equally familiar in the other villages. (1) Ushi, given to males and females. Ushi is also the word for cattle. (2) Kame, also the word for a turtle or a tortoise. (3) Tsuru, also a stork or crane. (4) Nta, given to both sexes, the Okinawan word for pig. (5) Handu, also a water barrel. (6) Kama, also a sickle. (7) Nabi, a pot.[5] 551

These are homonyms. The name is written in hiragana or katakana (the Japanese syllabaries), not with the Chinese character of its homonym. Hence it would be incorrect to say that the child is named "Cow," "Pig," "Pot," etc. [212]

In Matsuda, up to about 30 years ago, according to one informant, if a wife gave birth to a child in the husband's absence, the eldest relative present gave the child a name of the sex opposite its own, apparently to avoid bad luck by resort to contrariety. When mothers gave birth to a child in the toilet, it was named nta or nta, apparently referring to the identity of the toilet and the pig pen. 849 553 [177]

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[4] This is apparent in analyzing the family registers (koseki)

[5] Other names are Tamachi (female); Umeto (female in Hanashiro); Makatu (f); Chiru (f); Taru (male and female); Jira (m); Saura (m and f but scarce); Niyo (m); Ume (f); Kanashi (f), and Kana (m and f).

553 The first naming of children is done at a ceremony on the
day of birth, or on the following day, if the birth took place at
night. It is known as *unbagi*. There is a small gathering of
[262] relatives. Soup, rice, and a little *sake* may be served. Ordinary
rice or rice cakes (*mochigome*) may be prepared and put on the
Buddhist god shelf. If a boy, the relatives and parents pray for
[788] his strength, if a girl for her good health. *Unbagi*, an Okinawan
word, is also known as *süchüsen no iwai* (Japanese). The ceremony
precedes the burying of the afterbirth.

553 One important element in the naming of a child on its day of
birth is the state of the tide. The child is named only if the tide
823 is coming in. It is not necessary that the tide be high. Perhaps
midpoint is the best, though high tide is considered good. Practically
everyone can calculate the time when the tide is coming in or out;
since they all know the lunar calendar with a cycle completed in 15 days,
it is a simple calculation.[6] The explanation always given for calculating the tide on this and other occasions is that when the tide
is coming in, fortune and happiness will enter in the new life or the
new situation. When the tide is ebbing, everything goes out and away.

The real celebration of the birth of a child occurs several days
852 after birth. It usually occurs on the 5th or 6th day counting the
birth day. This is known as *mansan* (Okinawan) and is in honor of the
good health of the mother and the child. In Japanese, it is also
called *muikajari*.[7] In all communities studied, the week long all night
celebration has disappeared, though the celebration of *mansan* might
last well into the night.

One celebration, observed in Minatogawa, is probably typical of
the thousands that take place every year in rural Okinawa. The guests
came early in the evening to the parents' home, or, as in this case, to
the home of the child's grandfather, since the father, a first son,
lived in his parents' home. The men sat in the first room (*ichibanza*),
[562] the women in the second (*nibanza*), following custom in parties in which
both sexes are present. The head of the house, the grandfather, sat in
front of the alcove (*tokonoma*) of the first room. The child's father
[576] sat next to him. Each guest went on his knees, bowed, congratulated
the father and presented him with a small money gift. The usual gift
[931] is about ¥20. This was accepted by the father, who then responded
with a short speech. Sometimes these are formal and stiff, sometimes
like a simple conversation. The guests also congratulated the

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[6] The method of computing times of high and low tide will be given later. The tide is important in the marriage ceremony, when moving into a new house, or when moving, in the case of a second or succeeding son, from a main house to establish a branch family, and at a child's party on the first anniversary of its birth.

[7] The day was variously given me as 4-5th, 6th, and 7th day after birth. *Muika* in *muikajari* means 6th day.

grandparents. The food was then served: noodles cooked with vegetables, with a slight fish flavor; rolls; tempura, a sort of fritter; a fish cake known as kamobuko with a red border symbolizing happiness, and plenty of sake (awamori). A streamer hung from the ceiling near the alcove, announcing the name and date of birth of the new born child, together with the wri[illegible] wish that she might live any number of 10,000 year periods. [illegible]ere are no special ceremonies on these occasions. Some guests drop in for a few minutes, others remain for the whole evening. The women and the children go home early, while the men continue talking and drinking. This celebration is the first of a series that continues through a person's life, and if his descendants are devoted, will end 33 years after his death. After this celebration, things settle down until the child's first birthday. 852 [262] [212]

At present a child's age is reckoned in the same way as the Western custom. A child is one year old one year after the date of his birth. This is a recent innovation in force since January 1, 1950. Formerly age was reckoned in the Chinese and Japanese manner. A child born during a year was one year old and on the following New Year became two years of age. Thus a child born on December 27 would be two on January 1. The difference between the Chinese-Japanese and the western reckoning is that the former counts the years during which a person lives with New Years as the date for increasing the age, the latter counts the number of one year periods in which a person has lived. 865 [177]

The old system of reckoning age is inconvenient and conceals age differences. A one day difference might mean a year's difference in age in the case of a child born on December 31, and another on January 1. Determining the actual age of a person was troublesome. When children started to school, they might be 6, 7, or 8 years old and still be about the same actual age.

4

The Early Years

In all the villages studied, the women returned to their normal tasks about a month after childbirth. When the mother returns to the fields, the grandmother may accompany mother and child to the fields, the grandmother watching the child, while the mother nurses it at 10, 1, and 4. If the grandmother is too old and disabled, the child might stay home with the grandmother and the mother return from the fields to feed the child. Lacking help of this kind, the mother remains at home until the other children have returned from school. 846 854 853 603

But arrangements of this sort need not last long, for very early in life the child is strapped on the back and carried around 854

854 wherever the mother goes. The age at which this begins varies, some saying 20 days, others two months. But on the average, it probably is about one month.

This custom, known as ombu in Japanese, is identical with [171] the practice in rural Japan. The child is strapped on by crossing the sash in front of the mother, crisscrossing it above the baby's [482] buttocks, and then bringing the binding around the mother's waist where the sash is securely tied in front. In the summer, the child may only wear a diaper-like garment. The child is carried on the back until he begins to walk. But there is often a long transition period, and the child is carried at times long after he has learned to walk, perhaps until he is 3 years of age. I have seen boys of 4 still being carried on the mother's back.

At one time or another, the infant is carried by every member of the family physically able to do so, the child accommodating itself effortlessly to the activities of his elder. Its longest continual contact is with the mother. A mother does most of her chores with the child on her back. The child is with her when she is scrubbing the plank floors on her knees, carrying in firewood, building a fire, cooking, when she is turning the quern to make bean curd, shopping, or doing the laundry. If occasion requires, she unstraps the child, changes the diaper-like cloth, for diapers are unusual, and allows it to sleep a while on the thick comforter.

When school is out, the mother may get a rest. The baby is [857] taken over by the eldest girl. In communities where there are many girls, few young boys are seen carrying their young brothers or sisters, although carrying by boys is very common in the absence of elder sisters. Sometimes older children begin so young that they look small under the load of a fat or plump baby. In the fishing village, a father might walk around in the evening either with the child strapped on his back, or if the child is big enough, he puts his arms around the father's neck and his legs around the father's waist. Occasionally in the agricultural villages, a father carries a small child around in his work basket. The basket is tied to the end of a pole which rests on the shoulder. Children enjoy this.

Children who carry the babies around do not allow this to interfere with their activities. They play games, such as tag, hide and [859] seek, and a kind of hop scotch. They walk surefootedly along the sharp, and often dangerous, coral rocks of the seashore, along narrow hill or mountain paths, wherever inclination leads them.

The ability of the infant child to sleep under these circumstances is remarkable. Once the child is strapped on the back, he is given little further attention. He seldom cries unless in discomfort. Most often he goes to sleep. His head in sleep frequently falls at right angles with the shoulders, and he sleeps like this while his mother

is bending and stooping, or while his older brother or sister is 854
running or jumping. The ease with which adults sleep is equally
remarkable. On buses in Okinawa, I have seen men and women with
their heads against window sashes, while the bus bounces over the 513
rough roads. Sharp cracks on the head are unavoidable, and to one
unaccustomed to it, would be very painful. But people sleep like
this, with their heads knocking against the hard surface of the
bus, for miles.

This carrying of the child continues regardless of season. 854
In the winter, coats are put over or around the child's body. One
of the obvious and most important facts about Okinawan child rearing
is this custom of carrying the child on the back. But it is difficult
to say precisely what this importance is. Certainly in this
way the child has continuous contact from earliest infancy with the
life around him. He is not accustomed to being alone, except for an
occasional hour during the day when he may sleep on a blanket. At
night he sleeps with his mother. A child does not have to be introduced
to the world. He is not shielded in a crib. From early
infancy he has seen and been almost every place in the village and
learns to know many whom he will know throughout life.

This "public" and community life from earliest infancy is one 571
of the outstanding features of Okinawan culture, a characteristic 177
which it shares with-and which is derived from-Japan. One of the
surprises is that despite these contacts with all phases of village
experience, the child, as it grows older, becomes quite shy. This
is true of boys and girls, and continues in my observation from the 157
age of puberty up to marriage. No person who has had any contact
with Okinawans fails to notice this shyness. The Okinawans use the
Japanese word hasukashii to describe it, and, in this connection,
the meaning is something between a feeling of shyness, self-consciousness,
and shame. The shyness often does not disappear until marriage
or even until the birth of the first child, when father and mother
take their place as mature and responsible adults.

Two recent observers who analyzed the reactions of Okinawans 155
under the stress of war have thought that early and continuous 114
breast feeding is largely responsible for giving the child, from
earliest infancy, a sense of security. While this theses was
advanced out of intimate experience (mostly in the wartime hospital
at Ginosa village), it must, in my opinion, be qualified considerably.[8]
The period during which the child is breast fed is but one period in
the formative years of childhood. Besides breast feeding is no
monopoly of the Okinawans. Neither is carrying on the back confined
to them. The period immediately after the child is taken off the
back and begins to walk is a difficult one for most children. This

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[8] See Moloney, James C. Psychiatric observations in Okinawa Shima. The psychology of the Okinawan. Psychiatry 8 (1945), 391-99. Moloney, James C. and Biddle, Charles R. A psychiatric hospital in military government, ibid, 400-01.

155 is an impression, and I doubt that Okinawan mothers would agree
with me. The toddler stage, in my opinion, is a difficult one for
114 the Okinawan child. It is an abrupt change from the continuous care
and physical contact of infancy. This transition need not necessarily
be abrupt. A child may be carried some and walk some. As he learns
to walk, his mother is near him.

857 When the child is no longer carried, he ceases to be an observer
and becomes a participant in play. Formerly he watched the activities
of the older children and smiled to the attention when it was given.
Now he wishes to catch up with them as they walk down the lanes; he
is often left behind and is not fast enough nor expert enough to keep
up. This is a problem of childhood everywhere, but I believe here
155 that the transition from one type of activity to another is more
drastic. The child also receives less attention from his parents,
855 especially from his mother. This most mothers would deny. But I
have often seen parents walking along a village lane, a toddler behind
them crying and trying hard to keep up with them. They showed less
solicitude and patience with him than they had when he was being
carried. The mother gives less attention to the child during this
period, particularly if she has had another child. In this, I do
not mean to imply any lack of kindness or tenderness in the treatment
of children, but to point out a change of emphasis. There is much
more crying in the 2 to 3 year age groups than among infants who cry
very little because they are entertained so much.

The toddler not only has the problem of becoming a participant in play, but of getting along without the close attention of the mother, his older sisters, and possibly brothers.

855 Children are rather regularly spaced. The middle child of the
[842] lower three is most likely to be neglected. The baby is on the
mother's back; he gets his breast feeding and is always with the
mother. The older child has started to school or is leading an active
play life. The middle child, too young for school and only tolerated
by the older child who has his own interests, is too old for the breast
and the back. The successful transition from the back carrying and
breast feeding stage to walking and to the stage of independent play
seems most successful when there are many children of the same age
in the village, and consequently absorption in play can replace the
intimate attention of parents and older siblings. A father may fill
in this gap, allowing his young child to accompany him to work, but
this experience generally belongs to a later period of childhood.

853 As the infant grows, nursed by the mother, he gradually receives
262 other foods, but the variety depends on the economic status of the
family. The first food (other than the mother's milk) is rice water.
Later rice is made into a gruel. The rice is soaked and mashed up in
a quern. Families who have rice fields, or who can buy rice, may
delay feeding the sweet potato to the child until the third year.
Among the poor, sweet potato feeding begins much earlier. One

mother, for example, fed her child rice gruel (okayu) at eight 853
months and at the age of one year the child began eating sweet 262
potatoes. By the time the child is ready to walk and play, he
often carries with him a piece of sweet potato, and, in season,
a piece of sugar cane.

A party is held on the first birthday anniversary of the 852
child. This is more elaborate than the one which honored his
birth. Birthdays are not celebrated each year. After the first 527
anniversary, the next are on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 49th, and 61st
birthdays, that is, at twelve year intervals.

The party for the first birthday of a child is particularly
tender and affectionate. At one year, he can walk or stumble,
and answer or smile to the calls of his parents and grandparents. [856]
He can pick up things, throw them, and make his presence felt. The
exhibition of these skills becomes part of the celebration. It
is customary to invite both relatives and friends, who bring a
small money present, from ¥20 which is usual to ¥100 which is uncommon. 527

During the party, the child is given several symbolic gifts. 852
These are placed on a low table in the middle of the room which 431
the child can easily walk to and reach. Usually the gifts are a
book, a fountain pen (or a writing brush, fude), an abacus (soroban), [212]
and a stack of paper money. These symbolize the wish that the child
will become proficient in learning, writing, counting and mathematics, [802]
and will become rich. The child is eagerly watched as he unsteadily
toddles to the table to see which article he picks up first. While [554]
the act is not taken seriously, the article which the child picks up
first is supposed to indicate the field of endeavor in which he will
be most fortunate.

These parties, small or large, include men, women, and children, 852
but the majority of the guests usually are men. After the child
has gone to bed, the party continues. In more formal and larger 527
parties, the guests first come up to the father, go on their knees,
bow, and make a short speech of congratulation. Sometimes these [576]
speeches sound as if they are prepared beforehand, other times as
if they are spoken spontaneously. There is an exchange of sake [537]
between the father and his guest, both sipping from the same cup, the
usual custom. The mother and the female relatives during this time
are in the kitchen preparing the food.

Women sit by themselves. This is true of all celebrations when [562]
the sexes are together. Women do not drink. (In a similar party near
Matsuda, the old women--usually over 60--drank a little). The jolly [535]
old women also love to dance solos in the traditional style. They
dance with grace and vigor. The evening progresses without any [887]
planned entertainment. There is talking and drinking, singing, and
samisen playing. Men, with a repertoire of Okinawan songs, sing in [533]

852 527 [533] [562] a harsh, often rasping voice. Only men play the Okinawan samisen, a stringed instrument slightly different from its Japanese counterpart. Men also join in the dancing.

[534] In a village parties on the fifth or sixth day after the birth of a child and on his first birthday happen frequently. They are an important part of social life. A relative or a friend is always celebrating one or the other occasion, either in the village or in a neighboring one. These celebrations increase, especially for the men, the number of social occasions and recreational opportunities during the year in a culture where holidays and rest days are comparatively few. (There are no weekly rest days or week ends).

861 863 After the first birthday, little attention is paid to the succeeding ones until the thirteenth. The child's experience from the time he begins to walk until he reaches school comes from family life and neighborhood play. In my observation, there is no rigid, customary way of bringing up the child. It is toilet trained around one year of age. This does not seem to be forced. Training comes through imitation. Parents do not punish the child for indiscretions, though they are quick to lift him off the mat if he begins wetting. With young boys, the father may make a hissing sound while the child's penis is out. One has the impression that it is a gradual transition, mostly effected by imitation or gentle suasion.

304 Male children are not circumcised. Circumcision is known only to those who have learned of it through books, foreign residence, or from others who have this information.[9]

867 562 In early training, boys are not taught that they are superior to girls. But when she reaches school age, the girl is likely to be kept busier around the house. Before the war, there may have been a greater subordination of girls to boys. But any conscious training of girls to subordinate themselves to boys is unnecessary. The child grows up in a culture in which the father is waited on, the sons favored in inheritance, and in which the men have a richer social life.

855 593 Parents are kind to their children. They seldom spank a child, though an exasperated parent may give the child a sharp slap. There is little nagging or shouting at children in anger. In my opinion,

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[9] Two young men, school teachers about 23 years old, expressed great astonishment when asked about circumcision. They did not know it existed.

In my opinion

there is little forcing of children,[10] and this might be just as significant in accounting for the easy going security of Okinawans as that coming from breast feeding and carrying on the back. But a single element explanation is not a fruitful approach to this complex subject. 861 155

The chief factors in child development, in my observation, are the child's early and continuous contact with the mother, and the "public" life of the child[11] and its early exposure to the activities, the admonishments, the corrections, the admiration, and the fondling of others. Older women of the village have a major part in this, but young men and women look after a child, advise it, correct it, perhaps feed it. This "public" life is made easier because a child carried on the back, or toddling, or, later, in walking is seldom out of the view of a relative. It is common to talk with a villager in a public place and to discover that two or three of the children playing there are cousins, nieces, nephews, or more distant relatives. It is this combination of impressions and pressures, in my opinion, rather than planned training, which induces conformity and makes a child part of the village life. Certainly the standards of public and private behavior, transmitted from the parent, is reinforced at a much earlier age than in American society, by community approval, disapproval, and assistance. Part of this is due to the fact that a village, even its government, takes on some of the attributes of a large family. 861 [867]

Okinawan rural children grow up speaking Okinawan (Okinawago). There is no standard Okinawan and local dialectical differences are very marked. The chief distinctions seem to be in accent and 197

[Text continues top of p. 268--analyst]

[10] There is an interesting passage in Captain Hall's voyage. Hall's party observed a boy tumbling. He stopped when he saw he was observed and could not be induced to continue. Hall's company asked an Okinawan friend to get the boy to continue. This he did without success, and feigned anger when the boy would not go on. Thereupon the persuasion stopped, the Okinawan observing, "It was for his own amusement that he began, and probably for his own amusement he will do so again." The boy resumed his tumbling when he was ignored. Hall wrote that the Okinawan showed good sense in not compelling the boy to continue "that as a task, which he had begun as an amusement, and which he had discernment enough to know would be unpleasant for us to witness in any other way. By this treatment of their children, mutual cordiality and freedom of intercourse are encouraged. It was probably owing to this mode of education that the children became at once familiar with us." Account of a voyage to west Corea and the Great Loochoo, as cited, 211. [861] [155]

[11] This happy phrase, I believe, was first used by Miss A. M. Bacon in her still excellent book, Japanese girls and women, New York, 1907.

190 pronunciation. The people in Matsuda could distinguish and identify
villagers from other places, even though the villages were close to
one another.[12] Okinawan is the language of social and everyday life.
In Matsuda, it seemed to be supplanted by Japanese more than in the
other two villages. Japanese is used in official contacts and in
191 dealing with foreigners. Pre-school children know very little Japanese.
Their parents do not teach them the language, and they grow up speaking
the village dialect. The only exception is that parents teach the child
a few Japanese words of greeting, formalities, and expressions of
thanks.

524 Children lack the toys and playthings they had prior to the war.
At present they are a miscellaneous collection of rocks, pieces of
wood, tin cans, twigs, branches, and anything which circumstance or
childish improvisation can provide. In play, there is a great deal
of running and catching, hide and seek, and games like hop scotch.
[526] After beginning school, play has a more formal character, with dances,
games, and organized athletics.

Sleeping habits, especially those of children, are in part the
857 result of circumstance, in part of custom, and it is difficult to
separate the two. Children, often up to the age of 14 or 15, sleep
513 with an older member of the family. In one Hanashiro family, the
last born sleeps with the mother and the father until the next child
comes. The older children sleep in another room with the grandmother
or grandfather. If there are no older relatives, the whole family
may sleep together. This practice frequently is forced by economy
and necessity. The war destroyed homes and the rebuilt ones are
small. Blankets are expensive. In the better homes before the war,
if there were plenty of blankets, rooms, and mosquito nets, children
8 years and over had their own sleeping rooms, or at least their own
heavy blanket or cot. The farmer or fisherman does not use a bed or
a cot. Now and then they are used by younger adults with a taste for
western beds. But even before the war, 15 and 16 year olds often
slept with parents or grandparents.

Children from different houses also sleep together after they have begun school. Children come to a house to play, and, when bed time comes, they go to sleep in the house of their playmates. These sleeping groups are common when classmates meet during the evening for study. The village is so small that there is no alarm at a child's absence. An old grandmother living by herself may have many children sleeping with her overnight, sprawled out in various positions on a comforter, protected by the very large mosquito net (_kaya_) so universal in Okinawa.

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[12] No attempt was made to study language, linguistics, or dialectical differences. To be profitable, these subjects must be studied by technically trained linguists.

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The custom of a whole family sleeping together was common, if not universal, before the war. It is the mother or the grandmother, rather than the father or a male relative, whose company is sought after. This does not imply strained relationships with the father. Fathers are not stern. They often take care of infant children, or hold them while the mother tends to household tasks.[13]

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In western industrialized nations, we are so accustomed to the division of labor between the father and the mother, in which the father's work is away from home and the mother takes care of the home and has continuous daily contact with the children, that we might overlook the fact that similar conditions exist in less complex cultures as well. In these rural villages, the father is absent a great deal of the time. He may be in and out of the house several times during the day, he may eat his noon meal at home, or he may stay home several hours at a time doing chores in the courtyard. But the greater part of his time is spent away from home, in the paddy field, the sweet potato patch, at the quarry, or at sea, as the case may be. The father frequently is absent in the evenings, for he has the evening social life. Except for infrequent bus trips to shop in a larger town, a mother's absences from the home are of very short duration. The Okinawan wife and mother is almost always at home, or in a nearby field where here children can find her. A child's chief attachments seem to be to the mother. Though this is an impression, there seems also to be a long period of dependence on the parent. This does not mean dependence for food and shelter, for young men and women soon acquire skills which make them self-reliant. It is a more subtle dependence, but the post-war period may be changing this to some extent because of newer opportunities for leadership among the young.[14]

5

The School Child

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The child enters primary school when he is around 6 years old. His teacher, more likely than not, will be a young man. The child now begins learning the required basic knowledge: the use of the brush or the pen in writing the Chinese character, elementary arithmetic,

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[13] In Matsuda, in a conversation with six boys ranging in age from 13-15, one of them asked if boys their age in America had separate rooms for sleeping. When told that they did, if this were possible, their response was unfavorable. They said they would be too far away from their mother. All of them wanted to sleep in the same room with their mother.

[14] A 70 year old retired school teacher in one village complained that Okinawan children and young people have no independence and are not always relying on their parents for decisions. Age had not brought Confucian orthodoxy to this old man. He could not be accused of blindly insisting on filial obedience.

872 calculating on the abacus, and a variety of other subjects. (These
topics will be discussed in the chapter on education.

The pre-war school childrens' uniform is no longer obligatory.
292 Children wear what they have and what their parents can afford. The
291 girl frequently wears the familiar blue serge smock but more often
her clothing is varied. Her hair has bangs in front and is cut
302 straight, about on the level with the ear lobe. Neither do the boys
wear prescribed clothing. With them too, it is a matter of what they
have. A boy's hair is closely clipped to his head and will remain cut
this way until he leaves junior high school, although this style also
is no longer compulsory. He may have a school boy's cap, but this is
not officially designated. It may be tan, white, blue, or olive drab,
resembling either a military or a baseball type cap. Above the brim
there is a metal tag with an abbreviation of the school name written
in a Chinese character.

857 Three important new experiences come to him as a result of his
school life. The first of these is participation in school maintenance
883 and upkeep. One of the commonest sights in any Okinawan primary, junior
high, or high school is to see children working around the buildings and
grounds under the supervision of their teachers. After typhoons, which
destroy many of the rude, temporary, and rebuilt buildings, they[15]
straighten out the debris, and help in putting on a new thatched roof.
The tasks done by school children and their teachers are those customarily
performed by janitors and custodians in our school system. In junior or
senior high school, if the child lives far away from the school, he may
board there as well.

His second experience is with organized athletics. Much of this
526 instruction is pointed to the annual athletic meets (undōkai) which have
a remarkable hold in Okinawa on students, teachers, parents, and the
rest of the villagers alike. This organized athletic training is a
[177] Japanese introduction, but earlier accounts of a period when Japanese
cultural influence was more nominal point to a love of games, races,
and ball among the people.

The third of these new experiences is the formation of attachments
572 with children in his own class. These friendships exist throughout
life. The words, dōnen or dōsei, meaning the same year or the same
age, are used by mature men and women to describe these early friendships. Close friendships almost invariably have had their origins in
early close association in the same grade at school.

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[15] As is true of school boys the world over, truancy is not unheard of. Every once in a while, especially in junior high school, three or four boys report to the principal or his assistant because of absence from this work--but not from classes.

During the primary and junior high school years, no exacting de- 857
mands are made at home. Young girls after school strap the baby on 883
their back and go out to play, or they may fetch water from the well,
pond, or faucet, carrying it home in buckets hanging from a pole [482]
resting on their shoulders, or they may help in preparing the evening
meal. Younger boys, 12 and over, help with feeding the pigs or run
errands, but they have more leisure than the girls. There is night
study at home, including practice on the abacus and reading to which
the parents listen, correcting the errors. Formal education, for a
large majority, ends with the completion of junior high school. [871]

As children grow older, they continue in off hours to help
around the home, help which follows the lines of the male and female
division of labor of adulthood. This is not a strict division, as [462]
there are many areas in which both sexes do common chores. In the
agricultural villages, girls continue to help around the home, carry
water, and hoe in the sweet potato patches. In the fishing village,
they also carry water, help with the laundry, and start helping the
older women in selling and distributing fish. The boys work more in
the paddies. In the fishing village, they may make trips to the sea,
but as a rule, this does not begin until later.

For those who go to senior high school, there is a noticeable 873
change from the earlier school experience. They enter at about 14 or
15 and remain in high school 3 years. It is a period of growing maturity, 856
and the older they get the shyer they seem to become. Girl's hair is
allowed to grow longer, perhaps to neck or shoulder length, less often
in long braids, and the bangs remain. A big change takes place in the 302
hair styles of the boys. The close clipped haircut is abandoned and the
hair is allowed to grow long. Often it is not cut at all on the top,
so that in two or three years, it has acquired considerable length.

The child who leaves school at the end of primary or junior high 463
school is more quickly absorbed in the daily work life and traditional
occupations of the family. The senior high school student has teaching,
clerking, translating, or other white collar work in mind. The boy
who leaves school earlier might drive a truck or a horse cart, or
adopt the occupation of his father. This is likely to be a time killing
period for those young men who live in the fishing village or whose
families lack land.

6

Early Adulthood and the Engagement

In early adulthood and before marriage, a son of the house might 885
be given a separate room or a small outlying shed which he fixes up 868
for himself. The young girls, more and more, assume full time duties
in the home, relieving the mother. Often the mother and her young
daughter work together in the fields. These mature young girls also
may take over the care of younger children. Young men from 17 on are

885 888 well accustomed to the routine of the occupation they will follow. The young fisherman has gone to sea for his beginning lessons. The young farmer knows most of the skills of planting and cultivating. The young stone worker, requiring little training to begin, is already at work.

885 593 [464] Young men maintain close relationships with their families prior to marriage. In the villages studied, there is little movement to the larger towns. Since the war young men or women have found employment, at various times, in government and military government offices as account clerks, maids, translators, clerks at post exchanges, officer's clubs, restaurants, bars, and the like. But there were few instances in these villages.

A young man does not leave the village ordinarily, nor does he rent separate living quarters. These continuing family ties up to marriage may account for the boyishness and lack of maturity noticeable in so many young men in the age group from 17 to 25. The young school teacher, the truck driver, fisherman, or farmer may turn over part of his earnings to the parents. In rural Okinawa, residence in the home and attachment to the family last well into the years of younger maturity. This does not mean that there are no personal dissatisfactions with their situation.

834 There are few outward signs of personal attraction among young men and women during the teens and the years before marriage. In public, boys and young men of the same age group usually are seen together. This is true of the girls. Clandestine meetings among young men and young women take place. A mutual attraction is often communicated by a young go-between trusted by both. This secrecy does not come about from a desire to conceal the attraction, but because both parties are shy (hasukashii). This public reticence, so old in [178] Oriental cultures, is gradually breaking down. It is a convention, based on public repression of one's feelings. This does not mean that people dislike personal and physical contact and lack demonstrativeness. [159] Okinawans are emotional and demonstrative, and do not avoid physical contact, as anyone who has seen them at their parties has discovered.[16]

But young men and young women may meet quite openly. A young man in his early twenties may visit a girl's house, stay all day with her and her parents, and part of the time be alone with her. The young,

[16] It is too early to tell the effect of ideas of sex equality on rural Okinawan society. That the supposed high position of the American woman has made an impression on many rural Okinawan women there can be no doubt. The influence of young American soldiers and sailors, their catering and thoughtfulness toward Okinawan girls to whom they [177] are deeply attracted has spread beyond the range of those with the immediate experience. The soldiers are responsible for the adoption [832] of the word, "honey." Okinawan boys use it in the same sense as Americans: as any very attractive girl, or as a girl deeply loved personally.

who are less shy, can meet and enjoy one another's company under socially approved conditions. 834

The engagement (*uino* in Japanese, *sakimui* in Okinawan) varies with individuals and villages. In this respect it is like the marriage ceremony. A one year engagement period is considered long. 584 184 In one instance of a formal engagement taken from Hanashiro, the young man goes to the girl's house, taking a small amount of *sake* with him. The parents of both principals are present. The group makes a short prayer, before the Buddhist god shelf, that the two will be a happy couple. The *sake* is placed on the god shelf. [778 782] In Minatogawa, the prospective groom's parents prepare a small feast, and they and the boy go to the bride's house. The food offering is put on the god shelf. The two young people promise to marry. In another variant, from Matsuda, the boy takes a food offering and *sake* to the girl's house. The two eat together and promise to marry at a drink exchange (*kampai*) in which they alternately sip, as is the custom in Okinawa, out of the same cup. From Matsuda there was still another variant in which the boy was not involved. His mother met the girl's mother and her female relatives in the girl's house. *Sake* was given to the relatives of the girl. The girl's mother agreed to give her daughter up, the boy's mother agreed that the prospective daughter-in-law would be received in his family.

All these variants have this in common, that the engagement symbolizes an act that is more than the decision of two young people. It involves the families as well.

CHAPTER XIV

MARRIAGE

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1 Marriage Customs

2 The Marriage Ceremony

3 Contemporary Attitudes Toward Marriage

1

Marriage Customs

There are two ways of entering into marriage. One of these, the traditional form, found in China, Korea, and Japan, is the arranged marriage (*mi-ai* in Japanese). The selection of the partner, the betrothal, and the marriage are conducted by the families as principals, although the young people may be consulted. The second is free choice in marriage (*ren-ai*), in which young people decide for themselves. *Ren-ai* is often translated as "romantic love," but a more accurate, if more sedate meaning is free, but not unrestricted, choice in marriage. 581 [177]

The arranged marriage and the use of a go-between in the negotiations exist in the villages studied. But the arranged marriage began to decline before the war, more rapidly since its end. A go-between (nakōdo), either a man or a woman, or sometimes both, act as intermediaries in negotiations between families until a mutually satisfactory decision is reached, or, lacking this, until negotiations can be broken off without embarrassment to either side. 581 584 [178]

The arranged marriage still prevails in families where parental authority is strong and the obedience of the children is demanded and received. Personal observation and the statements both of the young and old leave little doubt, however, that free choice in marriage is now the accepted custom. A go-between is often used in courtship and is still an honored participant in the wedding ceremony. Latterly, the go-between is less a matchmaker, more a repository of confidences for mutual exchange. The present status of the go-between can be summarised in these illustrations from Hanashiro: (1) if the couple live in the same village, a go-between is not used, but one is sought out if the young man wishes to court a girl in another village. (2) The go-between is not used at all. (3) The go-between may be a relative or a friend of either party used to sound out another's feelings. In Minatogawa, it is said that the go-between acts for a bashful suitor, but that the couple make their own marriage arrangements. In Hatsuda, he is occasionally used in courtship, but his function is mostly the formal one of officiating at the marriage ceremony. With the acceptance of free choice in marriage, the go-between as an adult, skilled, respected, and understanding negotiator has been replaced by an individual with more nominal responsibilities, who may be a mutual friend, probably a contemporary of the young people whose marriage he is encouraging. 581 [593] 584

The arranged and free choice marriages are not at opposite extremes. Free choice does not mean there has been a rebellion against parental authority. Parents' consent to a marriage is still sought for, even though the betrothal is decided upon by the young principals. If the parents do not consent, the alternative is elopement. If the parents withhold consent, the traditional wedding ceremony cannot take

584 place, as it requires the participation of the principals and their families. Young country people are likely to hesitate before going against their parents' wishes, dispensing with a ceremony and the celebration which follows, and eloping to Naha or to some larger town.

In practice, events seldom reach this stage of differences in opinion. Some one will give way. An actual happening illustrates this point. A young man, a third son, about 20 years old, fell in love with a girl, aged 23, a bus driver's assistant. The boy wished to marry her, even though by present day standards he was young for marriage.[1] His parents objected to the match, not because of antipathy to the girl whom they liked, but because she was three years older than the boy. This is an interesting objec-
[582] tion because formerly many wives were older than their husbands, although too great an age differential was considered a trifle ludicrous. Apparently in the older arranged marriage, parents intentionally selected a bride older than the husband. In the family registers, among the very old, the wife is often older than the husband. At present the girl is either younger or about the same age.

[848] The boy acceded to his parents' wishes and did not marry the girl but kept on seeing her. Later the girl became pregnant. His parents discussed the matter among members of the extended family resident in the village, and, in much distress, consented to the marriage. Once the marriage was decided upon, there was no objection to the two living together.

836 [583] Some premarital living together is found in Okinawa. The boy works on his own parents' fields and helps the girl's parents. The girl reciprocates by helping at the boy's parents' home. During this time, the boy lives at home but spends the night with the girl at her home.

582 Young men normally do not get married until their 24th or 25th year, though there are cases of earlier marriages. Girls are in their early twenties. Earlier marriages may be an indication that a child is on the way. This relatively late age for marriage is not old in the culture. In older times, young people were married in their 13th
[177] and 14th year. This practice gradually changed under Japanese rule.[2]

[1] The Japanese word for love is ai-suru, but now one frequently hears the Japanese word rabu borrowed from the English love.

[2] Writing in 1910 from personal observation, Simon said that with the "Japanisation" of the islands and the increased difficulty and expense in making a living, the time for marriage was postponed and that a marriage at 15 years was now an exception. Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 88 and 90. Schwartz, In Togo's country, 1908, writing of conditions around the turn of the century, says that marriages are contracted between the 14th and 17th year, p. 150.

582 621 Husband and wife usually are from the same village, but there are many exceptions. Marriages of persons from different villages have increased in the past decade. This probably should be ascribed to the greater mobility of the people and to the acceptance of free choice in marriage. It is common, for example, for a Matsuda boy to marry a Ginoza village girl. It is also common for a boy in Minatogawa to marry a girl from the nearby agricultural villages of Hanashiro, Asato, or Gushichan. This apparently is a distinct change from earlier practices.

591 If the family registers are accurate, the great majority of the men living in a village were born there; it is the wives who are more likely to be the newcomers. In the social structure of village life, it is the men who provide the continuity; the women are more likely to be strangers. The husband may point to his father and grandfather who live or have lived in the village; fewer wives can do the same.

2

The Marriage Ceremony

585 In my experience, no two marriage ceremonies in Okinawa are alike. Marriages take place at any time of the year, but in all three villages, they were more commonly held in the late fall or in winter. The reasons given are that the heavy clothing and elaborate headdress of the bride are not suited to the hot and humid summer and that these can be more comfortably worn in the cool winter months. The marriage feast with [262] its fish cakes, meats, vegetables, and a variety of other perishable foods can be more easily prepared and kept in winter. In the agricultural villages, the ceremony usually takes place after the day's work; in the winter the reception may start by 5 and the main ceremonies are over by 8 in the evening.

585 576 Description of a ceremony at Matsuda. The party began about 5 in the afternoon. Because of the large number of guests, the primary school was used for the ceremony. At the head of the first room, the grandfather and grandmother of the groom, the groom, his father, and the go-between were seated. Other relatives of the groom found places around the sides. Later the father of the bride, who arrived shortly before his daughter, joined this group. The go-between, a young man of 24, was a friend of the couple, and his wife was a member of the groom's family.

In the other rooms, opening into one another, about 300 guests, mostly men, were assembled. During the reception and before the beginning of the ceremony, guests representing their families entered the first room to congratulate the father, the groom, and the grandparents. In this period of congratulation involving the father, the groom, and the guest, there was an exchange of sips of sake from a common cup. As in other instances of congratulation, some speeches [537] were long, some short, some well prepared, others extemporaneous.

585 576 During his speech, the guest remained in the most polite kneeling position, resting his weight on the heels with the toes pointed downward toward the floor. His head was bowed during the talk. The father and the groom acknowledged the compliments by nodding their heads and then made their responses.

When these preliminaries were almost over, an uproar followed the announcement that the bride was arriving. The lights of a vehicle could be seen from a distance. It turned out to be a truck. In former days, the bride came in greater style: she either walked preceded by young boys bearing lanterns or rode in a palanquin (*kago*), [493] or in a specially decorated horse cart.

All Okinawan brides, from the time they enter the house of the groom until they leave shortly after the completion of the ceremony, have an expression of indescribable gloom. The bride's face is set. Her eyes are downcast. She takes no notice of the guests, and responds silently to the acts which convention demands. She never smiles. This is a very serious occasion and any show of lightheartedness is considered in poor taste. The groom is not so wooden as he awaits his bride and goes through the ceremony.

585 [292] [177] The bride is dressed in a Japanese costume. She has a wig, usually rented for the occasion, the traditional Japanese headdress with masses of stiff lacquered hair. It is heavy and bulky and the need of keeping it on straight may account for some of the bride's immobility. She also has a bright colored Japanese style kimono with sash (*obi*) which may be her own, her mother's, or grandmother's. The bride's face is [302] heavily powdered with white powder and this makes her face look like a mask. Her lips, reddened slightly, accentuate the unnatural whiteness of the face. The groom is simply dressed in a black silk kimono.

The ceremony of *san-san-kudo* (literally, 3, 3, 9 times) conducted by the go-between then began. It is so called because both of the principals drink 3 times from each of three different cups which are made in progressively smaller sizes so that they fit into one another. There are variations, both in the way in which the 9 sips are taken and in the cups used. Since the war, the special sets of three cups have disappeared from many homes, and three small *sake* cups may be used. In this ceremony, the go-between served the first cup to the groom who took 3 sips, the go-between then refilled for the bride who took 3 sips. The other two cups were presented to each principal in the same way. This ceremony was very short, lasting only as long as it takes to sip the drinks in the proper order. When the marriage ceremony (*kekkonshiki*) was over, the bride and the groom arose and went to the front part of the room to be presented to the guests.

585 596 The bride retained her sad immobility. This is all the more remarkable to see when one knows the bride in daily life, vivacious and jolly and anything but impassive. The groom allowed himself a little more naturalness. The go-between spoke to the guests briefly about the couple. He told where the bride and groom were born, the

date of their birth (using the Japanese reign date), where they had 585
gone to school and their present occupations. This was done separately 576
for each. After this was over, the bride and groom stood silently
and politely, but without outward expression, while three guests in [537]
turn, previously chosen, made speeches, offering their congratulations
and best wishes. On this particular occasion, the principal of the
school at which the bride was teaching, the principal of the school at
which the groom was a teacher, and a mutual friend of the couple spoke.

These proceedings do not receive the undivided attention of the 585
guests who have been drinking sake for some time. On the tops of the [273]
tables, dancing in the traditional Okinawan manner and the accompanying [535]
singing have begun. The dances and songs, usually performed by men in [533]
their forties and fifties, were done with grace. These are part of all
social gatherings of any consequence. [562]

The sober attitudes of the work day are cast aside. The best
clothes have been put on. There is a great contrast between the bare- [292]
footed partially clothed farmer or fisherman of the daytime and his
appearance at social occasions. These events are conducted with dignity
and poise, at least until the sake consumption has risen to a high
point. The party then becomes a noisy melee of dancing, singing, and
talking, but without quarrelling or fighting. There is little self-
consciousness in entertaining others. Talented guests do not have to
be cajoled into performing. Dancing, singing, and samisen playing con- [534]
tinue spontaneously, with another performer beginning after one has
finished. The wedding party lasts from about 5 to 8, but many of the
guests stay much later until the sake is gone.

Following the san-san-kudo, another but more private ceremony
took place while the guests were entertaining themselves. In the [262]
wedding room, colored cakes and tea were placed on a small table. The
female relatives of the bride and groom, mothers and sisters mostly,
sat opposite one another and ate cakes and drank the tea together. This
ceremony indicated the willingness of the bride's family to give up
the daughter, and of the groom's family to receive her. After this 583
ceremony, the bride's gifts from her parents were carried in. These
vary with the family's wealth. In this case, they were a chest of
drawers, a mirror, a heavy comforter, pillows, and a mosquito net.
Before the war, gifts were more lavish than now. The usual presents now
are a large chest of drawers (tansu), two heavy quilts or comforters
(futon), a mirror (kagami), two Japanese type pillows (makura), and a
large mosquito net (kaya). A poor family would be most likely to omit
the chest of drawers. A new kimono and money may be included.

A ¥20 note is the usual gift of an ordinary guest at a wedding. 431
Closer friends will give about ¥100. There is no uniform practice
about gifts from the groom's to the bride's family. About ¥1000 may
be presented prior to marriage. The bride's family uses the money to
purchase the wedding gifts.

The day following the marriage, there is another ceremony, this 000

585 The day following The marriage, There is another ceremony, This time for relatives and perhaps a few close friends. The couple go to the bride's house where there is food and sake. This means the husband has really and finally accepted the daughter of the house and is thanking her parents for her.

But these events also are not observed uniformly. On the second day, there may be a gathering of friends and relatives, to be followed on the next day by visits of the bride, groom, and the groom's friends and relatives to the bride's home to give thanks for receiving the girl in marriage.

585 260 The food served at weddings depends on the economic circumstances of the family. But at today's prices food which would be considered acceptable costs at least ¥100 per person including sake. This feast had many extras and consisted of a buckwheat (soba) noodle soup, slices of beef and pork, eggs, tenpura, a fritter without a fish or meat filling, sweet potatoes, a vegetable salad of raw radish, green onion and sea weed shoots, bean curd, a boiled fish paste, rice cakes, and a sweet round fritter (sato tenpura) very much resembling the doughnut in taste, various cakes, and a sponge cake (kasutera).

585 [823] The marriage ceremony is performed only when the tide is coming in, for the same reasons that were noted with the birthday celebration of the child. Marriage is a time of bounty and fulfillment, not of diminution and withdrawal.

585 114 There was a "very ancient" Okinawan custom, cited by Spencer on the authority of Shimabuku Genkichi, the student of Okinawan history, of the bride remaining in the home of her parents even after marriage, and the husband coming to her home to spend the nights with her. This Spencer ascribed to the high economic value of the women and the custom at the time of Spencer's writing (1931) was still said to exist in parts of the northern district (Kunigami) of Okinawa.[3] The temporary return of the wife to her home after her marriage, while the husband [548] went to a public brothel was also an old custom.[4]

585 184 The preceding description of a wedding ceremony in Matsuda may be compared with one seen in Oushichan village close to Hanashiro. (Rural weddings are not so easy to see as one might think. There may be only one or two in a year in a village; when the parties are from different villages, the number in any one village is also reduced). In this

[3] Spencer, as cited, 96. In my studies at Matsuda (which is in the Kunigami district) and in visits to Oku on the extreme northern part of the island, I did not encounter any indication of the survival of this custom. But unfortunately I was unaware of their previous existence and there may well be survivals in some of the villages.

[4] Simon, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 97.

ceremony the set of three cups (*sakasuki*) was used. The go-between, 585
a man and a close friend of the groom, poured *sake* into the top cup.
The groom drank; the go-between then refilled the cup, giving it to 184
the bride. The same procedure was repeated with the remaining two cups.

In this ceremony, after the *san-san-kudo*, the go-between dipped a pair of chopsticks into salt, putting a bit on the open palm of the bride who then put the salt in her mouth. This was repeated for the groom. The go-between then dipped his finger into a cup of water, touching first the forehead of the bride, then that of the groom.

The presentation of the newly married couple to the guests was
also done in a different way. Because of his close friendship with [576]
the groom's father, the mayor of the township introduced the bridal
pair to the guests. This was a tender and affectionate speech in which [537]
the mayor told of the birthplaces of the young man and his bride. He
asked the guests, as friends and relatives of the new couple, to
teach them how to live well together, how to make a living, and ended
by asking everyone present to have a good time. The celebration, the
sake drinking, the dancing following the ceremony were essentially the
same as in Matsuda. A ring was not used in either ceremony. When used, [301]
it is ordinarily given to the bride, not placed on her finger as part
of the ceremony.

A custom followed in Minatogawa illustrates a variation in the
preliminaries before the marriage ceremony. The groom (*hanamuko*)
and the go-between or a friend go to the bride's home. They are
given refreshments. The groom acknowledges his bride. He returns to
his home to await her coming. This may take some time if the tide is
not right. Before the war children from 7 to 10 years of age carried [897]
long lanterns (*chōchin*) with candles to light the way for the bride, [416]
as she walked to the groom's house. Each child carried two lanterns,
which they held very tightly, as it was considered bad luck for them
to change from one hand to the other. The lanterns have now been [177]
abandoned (when the ceremony is performed) in favor of flashlights, in
another triumph of the Industrial Revolution. But the children enjoyed
participating because they were given small amounts of money and food.

In the Minatogawa custom, everyone stepped over the threshhold. Even now, if houses do not have one, a long step is made from the outer stone or ground into the room. Among the guests, there is usually a jokester who humorously announces in a loud voice the arrival of the bride.

In Minatogawa, the groom's family presents a gift of about ¥5-6000 [431]
to the bride's family. (This family would have to be in moderate
circumstances to do this). Gifts from the guests are from ¥20-40.
The groom's friends may give money to the groom's parents to defray the
heavy expenses of the banquet, and the girl's friends give money to
her, presumably for the purchase of wedding articles.

There is one further variation in a custom from Hanashiro. On

585 184 the day of the wedding ceremony, preparations are made at the bride's home. Food is served for relatives and friends, and the party then proceeds to the groom's home for the ceremony.

[431] Gifts from the groom's family depend upon economic circumstances, but usually range from Y50 to Y100 up to Y1000. In Hanashiro, something, no matter how small, is always given by the groom's family to the bride's family. Since the war, gifts of chests of drawers and blankets are less common because of high prices.

On the third day, in this Hanashiro custom, the bride and the groom with relatives and friends visit the bride's parents during the day. On the same evening, the visit is returned by the bride's family.

585 178 727 435 There is a general agreement in all the villages that as a consequence of the war, the preliminaries to marriage, the ceremony, the gifts, and the events following the ceremony have become simpler. Part of this is due to the high cost of food and entertainment. In the competition with other ceremonies and celebrations, the tendency has been, in the interest of economy, to simplify the old customs, or when this is not possible, to combine celebrations coming close together in the year. One frequently hears the word keizai (economy) used in this connection.

3

Contemporary Attitudes Toward Marriage

58 178 Marriage customs today are different from those of even 20 years ago. From information collected from the villages, the chief changes in marriage customs have been: (1) the preliminaries and the ceremony have been simplified, (2) marriage takes place at a much older age, (3) marriages between individuals of different villages are more common, (4) there is a shorter engagement period and its significance has declined, (5) the custom in which the bride temporarily returns to her home has disappeared or become rare, (6) the go-between, formerly a respected elder negotiating a marriage, is now a friend, generally the same age as the principals, offering help and advice, and (7) the arranged marriage has given way to freer choice in marriage in which the parents' consent has become largely a formality.

581 582 [586] [562] [177] Judging by the statements of residents of all villages, many of whom were married under the old arrangement, there is almost universal approval of free choice in marriage. Divorces were said to have been common under the old system, mainly because of the wife's barrenness or unattractiveness. The chances that the marriage will be a happy one are thought to be greater under the new. Among women, it harmonizes with ideas of equality which they have heard of or read about in Japanese magazines since the occupation.

Free choice in marriage does not mean that the family system 582
will disintegrate because parents have lost control in selecting
mates for their children. The family system is much more likely 602
to break down if the head of a house must assume greater responsibility for the support of relatives, or if the young leave their
homes and are scattered in the towns.

Trial marriage is said to be uncommon in Okinawa, but there 583
does not seem to be any disapproval when it appears. Perhaps
trial marriage is an inappropriate word, and living together prior
to an intended marriage is a better term. In one case, a young
man lived with his intended wife; sometimes he brought her to his
parents' home. As his duties required some travelling, the girl
often went with him. In Hanashiro, this custom is not practiced.
When young people live together before marriage, with the parents'
consent, they help one another's families with the daily chores.

Some married men have relations with other women, usually 837
widows or unmarried girls, and have children by them. This is not
rare, but it is by no means considered correct behavior. In one
village, the first son with his wife and children live, as is customary, with his parents, but he continues to have relations with
two unmarried women by whom he has had children. All three women
live in the same village, know the situation, and manage to avoid
one another fairly well. Naturally the wife is much disturbed by
the arrangement. The man, now about 33, has 11 children by the
three women. The children of the second and third women are
classified in the family registers in the mother's family as [848]
illegitimate (shiseiji). This is an extreme case.

In another community, there was an instance of the effects of war and repatriation on a marriage. Before the war this man and his wife had emigrated to Saipan. She was afraid of the bombing and decided to return to her parents' home in rural Japan, to which her husband consented. He remained in Saipan and later lived with and married the girl who was his personal servant. They returned to Okinawa; he had a child by her and is now living with her. The new family register, made up after the war, does not show the old marriage. His first wife, whom he still admires, has written him, but he has not replied. While he expressed no regrets about the loss of the first wife, he talked about the second as if she were still a servant.

In the villages, the cases of a married man living with another
woman, without any formal estrangement from the real wife, are in
my opinion not uncommon--with the exception of Hanashiro. As one 848
lives in a village and gradually hears confidences, departures from
strict fidelity seem more frequent than appear on the surface. There
is general agreement too that illegitimacy has increased since the

848 [727] [160] war.[5] The reasons given by the villagers are the increase in the number of widows and the present disproportion between young men and young women in the marrying ages.

One cannot generalise about attitudes toward illegitimacy. In two of the communities, Minatogawa and Matsuda, my impression was that there had been a change from disapproval to tolerance. The current reaction was often described in the famous Japanese phrase which covers thousands of situations: shi kata ga nai ("It can't be helped"). In Hanashiro, opinion seemed much stronger [837] [184] against extra-marital relations and having an illegitimate child. One housewife said that any married women or single women who has an illegitimate child is dirty (kitanai). This was not so much a moral condemnation as the notion that she was unclean. Such a woman is spoken to but is not liked. There is also the problem that in the family system there is no place for an illegitimate child, unacknowledged by the father, except to grow up in the household of his mother. There is no public concealment. The village family register has the shiseiji entry for any illegitimate child--and some of them are now very old men.

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[5] These and the following statements are necessarily qualitative as statistics were not available. Illegitimacy here refers to Okinawan parents. To my knowledge, in these villages, there were no children whose fathers had been members of the occupying force. Some apparent illegitimacy may occur when the marriage is recorded after the birth of a child (a common practice) and the register is not corrected. For this reason, it was difficult to evaluate the illegitimate entries in the family registers.

CHAPTER IV

MATURE LIFE AND OLD AGE

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1 The Daily Diet
2 The Division of Labor
3 Daily Work Habits
4 Clothing
5 Laundering and Bathing
6 Hair Styles
7 The Nature of Social Life
8 Public Health
9 Native Medicine
10 Tattooing
11 Knuckle Cracking
12 The Tide
13 Home Industries, Arts, and Crafts
14 Activities of Old Age

1

The Daily Diet

There is little variation in the basic diet in any of the 262
villages. Among individual families, the chief difference is in
the proportion of sweet potatoes to rice; this depends on economic [511]
status and the possession of rice fields, the poorer the family,
the greater the reliance on the sweet potato. Except for seasonal
foods, the diet is uniform throughout the year. Neither is there
much variation in the three meals. The basic foods are: 262

> For breakfast: A soup made out of hot water and bean paste, 264
> perhaps with bits of fish or meat added, sweet potatoes, and 272
> tea.

> For lunch: Rice or sweet potatoes, raw, boiled or fried vegetables, and tea.

> For dinner: Bean paste soup, rice if possible, or sweet potatoes, bean curd, and tea.

The foods which supplement these basic items are: (1) Fresh 262
fish in season, uncommon for the reasons given in Chapter X. Imported dried sardines and canned fish from Japan are more common
in agricultural villages than fresh fish. Even in Minatogawa,
fresh fish is scarce when the catch is light. In summer, the fish
is too valuable to eat and only unsold fish is eaten. (2) In
Matsuda village, rice and pork are more frequently eaten than in [184]
the two southern villages. Rice and pork consumption is indicative
of a higher standard of living. Many families have rice twice a [511]
day. Beef may be boiled, and with vegetables added, made into a [252]
soup. In the winter, the Japanese dish sukiyaki may be eaten, but
the meat in this dish is often meagre.

There are many occasional foods or side dishes of which the 262
following are the most common: (1) bean curd (tōfu). This is made 252
at home by women. (2) Taro (sato imo) boiled and eaten as a side
dish. (3) A sweet or unsweetened fritter (tenpura). Japanese
tenpura usually is shrimp or other fish fried in batter. Okinawan
tenpura may or may not have a filling. Frequently the filling is
a paste of brown sugar, or a slice of sweet potato. At celebrations,
they may have a meat or a fish filler. (4) The rice cake (mochi)
made of glutinous rice (mochigome). (5) Buckwheat paste (soba), and
(6) noodles (sōmen). These are fairly cheap and are always purchased.
(7) Bread (pan). This is a slightly sweetened large bun, normally
with a little jam or jelly filler. The bun is baked in the large
towns and distributed generally by boys on bicycles to the village
stores. (8) Boiled or pickled radishes, boiled pumpkin cut in small
squares and served with a piece of fish or meat. (9) Onion tops and
spinach boiled with a seasoning of fish, chicken, or beef. (10) Various
vegetables in season.

000 vegetables in season.

On special occasions, cookies, cakes, and more fresh fish and
262 meat are served. In Okinawa any food out of the ordinary is called
a feast or a treat (gochisu). Fresh fish, fish cakes, beef, pork
make up a feast, for these are seldom served in the routine meal.
Fish, pork, and beef are universally liked, but fish is hard to get,
beef is expensive, and pork is a source of cash income. Many
families eat pork only at New Year.

By almost any standard, including their own, the daily Okinawan
diet is monotonous and unappetizing. Nevertheless the present diet
is an improvement over the pre-war one. Most villagers said that
before the war, the diet consisted of the sweet potato and bean paste
soup. Bean paste soup usually has a few shreds of meat or fish in
it. In times of scarcity, or if the family is very poor, only the
paste is used, and when this is dissolved in hot water, it makes a
kind of clear bouillon which is jokingly referred to as "mirror soup"
(kagami miso) because one can see his face in it. In Okinawan, it
is also called "nothing in it soup" (nnshiru). Since the war, the
rice imports from Java, Siam, Egypt, and other foods sold through
[839] import stores have provided more variety.

Goats are a cheap source of meat, but many do not like goat's
272 meat. The milk is not used for human consumption.

Tea is served at all hours. Many Okinawans, however, have
acquired a taste for coffee. Tea is steeped in a large pot and
[415] placed on a tray with the cups. Once made, tea stays in the pot
until it is drunk. Frequently it is lukewarm or cold. Callers are
[574] served tea and small chunks of brown sugar, picked up with chopsticks.
Sugar is never used to sweeten tea. There is considerable eating
[264] between meals, especially if visitors drop in. Women prepare a bowl
of noodles, of cooked vegetables, fry an egg, or slice up some bean
[262] curd. Villagers eat enormous quantities of food.

The people are very hospitable, but hospitality does not take
574 the form of inviting friends to dinner except on special occasions,
like a birthday celebration or a wedding. One family does not en-
tertain another at dinner, but an individual member of a family who
has worked at a friend's house may stay for an evening meal. Or a
child may eat with the family of his playmates. Entertaining does
[562] not include a man and his wife. The wife normally stays at home.[1]

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[1] In Minatogawa, I was told that the beginning of the preparation of the meal was a sign for the visitor to return home. This was not due to the broad hint of the host but to the reserve (enryo) of the visitor. "Mmun ni wariu" (Okinawan) "to be pressed by food" is said by those returning home at these times. One goes home at meal times.

2

The Division of Labor

In all the villages there is a division of labor between the sexes. There are, however, wide areas in which men and women do the same work. In Matsuda and Hanashiro, the usual tasks of the women were the care of the children, maintaining the house and its surroundings, excluding heavy work or repairs, laundering, making foods like bean curd and bean paste, taking rice to the mill, hoeing sweet potatoes and gathering tops for the pigs. 462

Men, in the main, plant and transplant rice, hoe, plow, and harrow the rice field, cut the rice, make house and compound repairs, and help others in housebuilding. Men carry the main burden of agriculture, though women frequently give a great deal of help. In Matsuda, men get firewood from the mountains. Wood and other fuel from nearby spots are gathered by women. Both men and women may take care of pigs, or operate the rice treadle thresher. Daily feeding of the pigs and the smashing of sweet potatoes in a stone mortar with a long wooden pestle is usually the work of women.

The small shops are generally operated by women. Men who do so are likely to be in poor health or disabled for heavy work. Weaving grasses and rushes for rugs or baskets is done by men. If the farmer has a surplus, the wife generally sells it. The produce for sale is carried in baskets on the head. (Head carrying is more common in the southern villages than in Matsuda). [482]

This division of labor between the sexes becomes indistinct among the old. Old men and women, if able, work at some task until they die. In the south, they may often be seen gathering grass on the mountain sides. The very old do many of the tasks of their prime, but they neither work so long or so hard. This is especially true in agriculture. 887

In the fishing village, a division of labor also takes place. The men are responsible for catching fish and for maintaining the boats and the gear, the women for the sale and distribution of the fish. The old fisherman contents himself with repairs and general maintenance; the old stonecutter does the chipping and the bevelling. 462

Grandmothers assume the care and supervision of older children, while the mother is preoccupied with the baby. The old women may also do cooking, house cleaning, laundering and feed the pigs. Care of pigs is often an incidental chore in a woman's daily routine. [887]

3

Daily Work Habits

512 The people of a village are continually busy. Their daily
work habits depend on the season and the type of work. The work
day of the fisherman is the least predictable because his activities
are more sensitive to the present and anticipated weather. Most
farmers continue working in their fields in a slight rain, but
activity ceases with heavy rains. While the farmer works steadily
and hard, there is a certain elasticity in his schedule. He does
not go to the fields every morning at exactly the same time. Neither
does he feel compelled to put in a full day's work every day; he is
guided more by the tasks to be done. Work is interrupted by an
occasional smoke or conversation with friends or neighbors passing
by. There is a routine in daily life, but it is not strictly adhered
[264] to. Meal times vary from day to day sometimes by an hour. Time may
be taken out from the fields to gather firewood, make bean curd, to
dry out bean pods, or to fix up one's house. Three or four days in
a row may be devoted to helping with another's house. The sun is
[496] the guide to time. Most houses have clocks but few are running and
they are not well regulated. Perhaps the chief distinction between
[805] agriculture and fishing work is that in the former, the tasks of all
blend together.

A farmer's work day in summer begins about 8 or 9 in the morning and ends almost the same time in the evening. Full advantage is taken of the daylight hours. In summer, the evening meal is not eaten until 9 and often later. By the time the meal is finished and the table cleared, it is ten. After short visits within the family, or with neighbors, the farmer retires about 11. In the winter, the routine is the same, but the day's work stops earlier, and the evening meal is at about 6 P.M. The fishermen do not have this unbroken routine. There is often night work and the day may be used for sleeping. Intense activity is followed by periods of greater or less leisure.

4

Clothing

175 The history of costume in Okinawa is full of interest, but it is
292 too broad a subject to deal with here. In the old Okinawan kingdom,
565 clothing and its color, hair pins, caps, and other articles of men's
wear were used to designate rank. The clothing of the commoners had
[286] much less variety. Until quite recently, banana fibre was used in
farmers' clothing. A dyed indigo kimono, stripes for men and dots
291 for women, is still worn.

[537] Present day clothing is of a non-descript character. The war

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Present day clothing is of a non-descript character. The war destroyed old stocks and villagers have been unable to buy much new clothing. Many farmers and fishermen have one western style suit, shirt, necktie, and a pair of shoes, but these are worn only on rare occasions, such as having one's picture taken. Most of the women still have a Japanese style kimono in storage. An article of army clothing, mostly American but occasionally Japanese, often is the basic garment whether it be a pair of trousers, a shirt, or a field jacket. Older women still wear a cheap cotton kimono usually indigo blue with white dots. 291 727 [292] [177]

In work anything at hand is worn. Fishermen, farmers, workers in the forest generally go barefoot the year round. Girls and young married women are increasingly wearing cheap and attractive house dresses which they prefer to the inconvenient kimono. Children's clothing shows similar improvisation in the use of what is available. 291

In leisure hours, clogs (geta) are often worn by men, women, and children, particularly in the evenings as a protection against snakes. Some men wear shoes consistently, but they are most commonly worn by officials, school teachers, or men in business.

There is no standard headdress. Hats are few. A few cone shaped hats are worn in the rice fields. These are made from straw or rush. An ordinary cotton cap with a visor is common. Men and women frequently wrap a cloth, usually a piece of towelling, around the head. A towel hanging from the back pocket of the trousers of a young man is part of his summer equipment.

5

Laundering and Bathing

Laundering is done by women. There are no set customs about doing it. Neither is it a community affair. In Hanashiro those who have wells do their laundry in their own compound. Those without wells either do it at a neighbor's well (without charge), or at one of the community ponds designated for this purpose. In Matsuda, the small stream, a pond, or wells are also used. 296 [312]

Clothes are rubbed, washed, and rinsed by hand. The custom practiced in Matsuda up to 20 years ago of beating clothes against stones has disappeared. If laundering is done in a spring or small stream in the summer, it is common to take a bath after the washing is done. In Minatogawa, the women collect around an open faucet, or the public water tank. These are in continuous use for laundry, hair washing, and washing vegetables.

The passion for bathing, conspicuous among the fastidious Japanese, is less in evidence in these villages. But it is also difficult to bathe. Villagers must content themselves with washing with a cloth, like a sponge bath. In Hanashiro villagers may go to 515

515 the Japanese style public bath at Minatogawa. There are separate rooms for men and women. The body is soaped; then the soap is washed off. One gets into the hot water tub to soak. In this arrangement, all the advantages lie with the first comers. In the winter, the Minatogawans use their public bath houses. But in the summer, they soap themselves thoroughly and rinse off under a public faucet, keeping on a pair of shorts or a light skirt, depending on sex. In Matsuda, an outside tub is frequently used. This is bullet shaped, about three feet in diameter and about the same depth. Generally it has a rudely constructed roof. The bath water, not so hot as the Japanese like it, is only moderately warm.

[576] In family tub bathing, there is an order in which the bath is taken. Guests are first, followed by the head of the house, then by other males in order such as first, second, or third sons, and finally the women of the house, starting with the eldest. Many people in Matsuda go, usually about once a week, to the neighboring village of Ginoza for their bath.

6

Hair Styles

302 In the days of the old kingdom, men and boys wore the hair long. A patch on the crown was shaved, and the long glossy hair was gathered on all sides and made into a tight knot and pinned with two hair pins. [175] Satow mentions that between the ages of 16 and 19 the ceremony of *gembutsu* took place. The central part of the head was shaven, and the long hair was then put up. According to this author, the custom dated back two centuries.[2] Various oils were used on the long hair to keep it in place. This hair dress for men and boys was described by Basil Hall in 1816; Commodore Perry's staff made similar observations, and the reports of Furness (1896) and Simon (1910) indicated that there had been no changes in the style.

The cutting of men's hair is said to have begun about 40 years ago. While some thought the Japanese forced this, it seems to have been done voluntarily. A high school principal, now in his late forties, told me of his childhood remembrance of crying at seeing his young father willingly shearing off his own long and luxuriant hair.

[177] The clipped (*marugari*) head for young boys is a Japanese introduction. It was required for health reasons by the Japanese school teachers. The clipped cut, for young boys, has persisted, and it is

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[2] Satow, E. M. Notes on Loochoo. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8.

uncommon to see young boys up to 12 or 13 without the clipped head.

[177] After the abandonment of long hair, men followed the Japanese custom which resembled the Western style. Unless men went into the army, where the hair was severely clipped, they wore their hair at moderate length.

[177] From infancy to graduation from grammar or junior high school, the hair of boys is clipped to the scalp. After 14 it is allowed to grow, sometimes to considerable length. The longest and the fullest hair (either by neglect or intention) is found in the group from 17 to about 23. There is some influence from Japanese and American movie hair styles. The word "all-baku" is used to describe this style, mostly referring to long hair parted or combed straight back and full on the sides. The young man has his choice between a short crew cut type and long hair because the hair is very thick and sticks up and is difficult to train unless long. After the early twenties the young men are likely to cut off their long hair and adopt a more conventional haircut. This lasts until old age when many, but by no means all, of the men over 55 or 60 have their hair clipped short again.

[175] In the 19th century, women's hair, according to accounts describing styles at the close of the century, was long like the men's, but differed in the manner of putting the hair up. The crown was not shaven. The hair of the ordinary woman was worn long with a pug, placed indifferently on the left or right side of the head. Okinawan young women, around the turn of the century, adopted the Japanese headdress (which they still retain at their weddings), either the elaborate traditional coiffure, or the simpler and more severe style of drawing the hair straight back with a pug at the nape of the neck. Okinawan women at this time had long hair and took great pride in it, universal long hair, according to the villagers, lasting until quite recently.

Before, during and after the war, great numbers of Okinawan women, except the very old, cut their hair. Present hair styles depend on the age group. Young girls up to 7 or 8 have the hair cut on the level of the ear lobe or a little higher, with bangs in front, and a high shingle in back. The hair of a young girl through high school reaches an inch or so below the neck line, she has bangs in front, but the hair is not shingled in back and hangs freely.

The late teen age group and the younger married women have become infatuated with the permanent wave. It is much admired by the younger people of both sexes, but is often unbecoming on the young women because it gives the hair a frizzled appearance. The permanent wave is much less common among the village women over thirty whose hair, almost shoulder length, is tucked in a sort of roll at the back of the neck. Old women in their sixties and seventies have quite long hair. It is done up rather severely with a top knot on the crown held by skewers, somewhat similar to the old Okinawan style.

305 302 Persons of both sexes and of all ages, including infants, visit the barbershop. With boys and men, the price includes a haircut and a shave. The upper edge of the eyebrows is always shaved to make a straight line. The eye lids are also invariably shaved. The shaving of the eyebrows and eye lids of infants is commonplace. When women go to the shop to have the neck hair trimmed, the face, the eyebrows and the eye lids may also be shaved.

7

The Nature of Social Life

562 The social life of the women is severely restricted by convention. This restriction is closely tied up with the obligations of the family system and does not imply a conscious and selfish attempt by the men to keep their women at home and distanced from society. These restrictions are the result of custom in which the women acquiesce. The few discontented exceptions are women who read Japanese magazines and learn of American ideas about the position of the women. [177] But in general women accept their status. The men have a social life quite unconscious of any obligations of this sort to the women. The point was well brought out when I asked two Okinawan teachers why it was that women had so little social life and seldom went out with their husbands. They said the subject had never occurred to them.

The center of a woman's working and social life is her home. The range of a man's activities is the village and may extend to neighboring settlements. A large part of a woman's recreation is with other women. A man's social life is spent mostly with men.

[574] A woman's opportunity to spend a social evening with men comes when her husband brings guests to their home. Here she participates in the conversation, though she usually retires earlier. With older couples, the wife is most likely to greet her guests, serve them with tea, later perhaps with sake, and then unobtrusively retire.

[593] In my observation, there is a friendly relationship between husband and wife in the home. Younger wives participate frequently in conversation. Part of a woman's social life is centered around daytime activities, like taking care of the children, running an errand, carrying rice to the mill, chores which she does in the company of other women with like duties. Her working and social life blend together more than the man's. Among the very old women, day time visiting and strolling throughout the village are very common.

A husband and a wife are not often seen together in public, except on some special occasion, such as a child's birthday party, a school athletic meeting which the whole family attends, or a

shopping trip to a larger town. In the very common evening 562
visiting among men, women participate very little.

There has been some improvement in the social position of 562
women since the war. In Hanashiro, for example, before the war, 264
the husband, children, and grandparents ate in the second or third
room, while the wife and sometimes the eldest daughter ate in the
kitchen. (The Okinawan kitchen, though part of the house, differs
from the other rooms in that it has direct access to the outside, [342]
is generally on a level with the ground, and has a dirt, cement, or
stone floor). The wife in preparing the meal can go back and forth
readily and need not take off her clogs or wash her feet if she
goes barefoot when she goes up into the rooms. Her meal is a slight
interlude between duties.

In most homes now, the women eat with the family in the main
house. Some old women still spend most of their time in the
kitchen watching the fire and eating their meals there. One of [178]
the reasons given for the change in attitude toward women is that
many of the repatriated Okinawans brought newer ideas with them
and did not practice segregation at meal times.

Another important fact about social life is the drinking of the 273
men and the abstinence of the women.[3] Young men usually begin [562]
drinking *sake* around the age of marriage. It is exceptional for
a young man in his teens or early twenties to drink. But once this
dividing line is passed, it is the exceptional man who does not drink.
In each village one finds a few lifelong teetotalers. Drinking is
always done in company, as the climax of a task completed, because of
some happy turn of events, or because there is a party or celebration.
As a general rule, the village men do not drink every day, but only
when a suitable occasion arises. While there is drunkenness, I did [133]
not observe the solitary, prolonged drinking commonly associated with
alcoholism in western societies. Prolonged drinking at night has the
expected effects the next day, but there is very little remorse, unless a man has done something of which he is subsequently ashamed. Men
who have drunk too much the night before do not hesitate to lie in bed

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 295--Analyst]

[3] In Okinawa, the commonest and cheapest alcoholic drink is *sake*. This
is not the same as Japanese *sake*, the light rice wine, slightly resembling sauterne, that is usually served warm or hot. Okinawan
sake is *awamori*, a much stronger drink of distilled rice spirits, a
variety of the Japanese *shochu*. The alcoholic content of *awamori*
ranges from about 25% to 30%. It is a raw liquor with an unpleasant
taste. It is not the favorite, but it is the cheapest drink. *Awamori* 279
is made from rice in small distilleries throughout Okinawa, bottled in
large jugs and distributed to village shops. Most shops carry it. Sometimes there are special *sake* shops. *Awamori* or *sake* is sold for about 435
Y14 per *go* (.318 pint). The normal intake for an evening is considered 804
to be 2 *go*. Most men are fairly inebriated after drinking this much.
The American army canteen, when available, is the favorite *sake* container.
Japanese and American beer and Japanese sake are liked, but too expensive.

273 the greater part of the following day until the effects are worn off.[4]

There is tolerance of drinking and of behavior while under the influence of alcohol—with the exceptions to be discussed below. This nonchalance extends to children and young people. When an elder and highly respected friend or neighbor, perhaps their own grandfather, is drunk, they laugh indulgently at him, passing off his behavior as foolish because he is drunk.

[576] The custom of drink exchange (kempai) certainly does not keep drinking to a minimum. Drink exchange is perpetual at parties. A small cup of sake is offered to a friend. He drinks, gives the cup back to his friend who holds it while the other refills the cup. The exchange goes on again. Often three or four men are involved in this reciprocity.

[272] Drinking, like an aperitif or cocktail before a meal, is not common. Sake may be drunk with or after the meal. Often it is served along with tea. Throughout the evening the two may be drunk alternatively. In this case, the tea is served first. Unless there are special occasions, there is very little day time drinking.

273 562 In this drinking, the Okinawan woman has no part. There are a few minor exceptions. But in all the villages these exceptions were older or very elderly women. The young wife or girl in rural Okinawan villages simply does not drink. Furthermore, she seems to have no desire to. Occasionally a woman in her late forties or early fifties takes a few sips. In the southern villages, an old woman may drink a small amount with a little added sugar at a celebration. In Matsuda, shortly before New Years it is customary to give a party at village expense to all people in the village over 70 years of age. On this occasion, both the old men and old women are liberally supplied with and liberally drink the sake. [888]

[154] These distinctions in drinking between the sexes, in my opinion, are closely tied in with the responsibilities of men and women, as they have grown up historically under the family system. The distinctions certainly cannot be explained in terms of contemporary attitudes. If drinking is an outlet for the tensions of the men, a way of relieving the boredom and monotony of every day life, how can one explain the

[578] [4] There is little real violence or fighting, but there may be noisy quarrels and some shoving about. Some mild men become very quarrelsome. The only instance of violence I observed was the case of a young man about 25 who drank quite a lot, became angry with some girls in the Young Women's Association for not doing chores he thought they were responsible for. He slapped one severely. The following day he was very remorseful. His mother went to the girl's house and personally apologised for the boy's behavior.

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absence of need of a similar release from the boring and monotonous life of the women. Yet I noticed little in the behavior of village women to indicate they were overwhelmed by monotony or bored with life, though perhaps longer residence in the villages would have proved this observation false. Might one say that the culture does not fulfill its promise to the men, even though they are favored and catered to and that the drinking is the result of this disappointment? This neglects the fact that drinking is old in the culture and is almost always done in the company of others. If personal frustration and disappointment were the cause, one might expect more compulsive and solitary drinking and more alcoholism.

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The sources of this distinction between the drinking men and the abstemious women, I think, lie in the values held by the culture. In the first place, sake drinking is age old in Japan, and probably in Okinawa as well. Drinking sake is associated with ceremonies, such as marriage, with religious observances, with social and public life. The public life of an official, a shopkeeper or business man, a farmer, a fisherman is not divorced from entertainment. Men have an outside life. In their dealings with other men, they are accustomed to drinking. Women do not have this outside life. They have inside duties of which the care of the children and of the house are the most important. Historically, the source of the abstemiousness of the women may be the obligations of being a mother, to be ready at all times to care and provide for or nurse her children, obligations considered incompatible with drinking. Women are expected to be polite, refined, and quiet. These ideals may be difficult to maintain in drinking. [577]

562 574

At times a husband and wife may participate in social gatherings as a couple. These gatherings may either be (1) an informal, often casual, event when guests drop in and spend part of the evening, and (2) the formal affairs, such as a marriage, a birthday celebration, a holiday, an extended family reunion, or the observance of a death anniversary. On these occasions, the men occupy the first room, the women the second. The entertainment and conversations of the evening are for the most part governed by this segregation.

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Though women are tolerant of drinking, domestic difficulties are often caused by the drinking of the men. Frequent drinking with its noise and late hours may result in family quarrels (fufukanka). Quarrels involving the wife and the husband's female relatives, especially the mother, are said to be uncommon. In the southern villages, the war did away with one cause of family quarrels. Men no longer go to the geisha quarter. There are naturally tensions coming out of individual antagonisms and dissatisfactions: the husband's mother who ignores her grandchild because she dislikes her daughter-in-law, pressure on a woman to produce children to satisfy the pride of the husband and of the grandparents, and failure to bear children, which usually leads to divorce initiated by the husband. Divorces, in these rural villages, were found to be uncommon.[5] [586]

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[5] No reliable statistics could be found. These remarks and those in the next paragraph are based on personal observation, impressions and conversations.

593 The husband or father is not a tyrant. Nevertheless the wife is unlikely to challenge her husband directly on any important matter. If she is scolded, she may continue with her work in silence, ignoring her husband.

562 177 Women who have lived abroad in places like Hawaii or who have experienced the metropolitan life of Japanese cities are more likely to be dissatisfied. Occasionally one meets a woman who thinks this is a man's world (otoko no tenka) and that women should have more privileges than they now have. This attitude has been sharpened through American influences, directly by contact with American soldiers and civilians, indirectly by discussions which appear in Japanese periodicals of the life of American women. How widely this attitude exists is difficult to say, though I believe that at present (January 1952) it is not a strong force among women in the villages.

562 Though her place is at home, the woman is by no means removed from the wider aspects of village life. She may take an active part in the Women's Association. She may handle the family money or part of it. She may operate a little store to supplement her husband's income from the fields, or if she is a widow, to provide for her own support. She may participate in mutual loan groups. And she may be the head of a household.

8

Public Health

515 511 751 The people of the villages are conscious of health and sanitation, an awareness gained under the Japanese. This awareness and desire for cleanliness and sanitation meet major obstacles in the lack of running water, the distance to public baths, the expense and trouble (or both) of heating quantities of water, the cost of soap, the poorness of the outdoor toilets especially in the devastated areas.

An analysis of village health problems requires the specialized knowledge of the physician or doctor of public health. The observations of a layman however may have some interest.

511 [369] 751 The general sanitary conditions are not good. The weak spots are (1) Poor outdoor toilets and their haphazard location with relation to wells. (2) The dirty and smoky Okinawan kitchen. Many have dirt floors and little effort is made to keep them clean. The situation is better with the stone floor or cemented kitchen. Women complain about smoke smarting and injuring their eyes. All of the rooms of an Okinawan house, especially in winter, are likely to be very smoky around meal times. (3) Food preparation and dishwashing are often done in dirty surroundings. Foods are fried or boiled, and this is all to the good. In making tea, the water is seldom boiled; more often it is only brought to a boil or allowed to get hot.

Nevertheless, to superficial observation at least, villagers 146
seem to enjoy good health. Most of them are energetic. Obesity
is very unusual. The average man or woman of any age has little
spare flesh. The most frequent complaints are of dysentery, con-
stipation, colds, boils and swellings, and intestinal parasites. [164]
There are signs of malnutrition in the distended bellies of some
small children, probably due to the unrelieved and starchy diet of
the sweet potato,[6] with extremely few animal fats and proteins.

The sores and scabs on the heads, faces, arms, and legs of 164
infants and young children are still the curse of childhood, con-
ditions made worse by the flies which swarm around them. (In
summer, I have seen as many as 20 flies on the face of a sleeping
child without a trace of any muscular reaction). There are few
Okinawans today who do not bear the scars of these sores of infancy,
especially on the scalp. (Young men are sensitive about this and
it is one reason also for keeping the hair long). Younger parents
now are beginning to use various disinfecting powders and talcs to [751]
prevent these sores (which look like impetigo) and seem to have
abandoned the attitude of a previous generation that these were
childhood experiences to be endured. Much could be done to eliminate 000
these diseases of childhood by a campaign in which local groups
like the Women's Association and the public health authorities joined.

In the summer months, Jap B encephalitis (known as nūen) is very 164
much dreaded. Some villagers had only a vague idea that it was a
brain fever and a few knew that the mosquito was the vector. [753]

According to residents of each of the villages, no cases of
leprosy had been discovered in recent years. This disease is also
dreaded and I doubt that an attempt would be made to conceal a case.

Young people have uncommonly beautiful, evenly spaced, white [145]
teeth. This seems to have been an Okinawan characteristic for a
long time, as Basil Hall commented upon it 135 years ago. Around
the late teens or early twenties, the teeth decay, and there are many
extractions and replacements with gold or steel false teeth. Some
extractions are intentional, especially among young girls who believe [757]
that a gold tooth sets them apart and adds to beauty. But I am con- [832]
vinced that this is of minor importance as an explanation. Okinawans

[6] I am not acquainted with any analyses of the composition of the Okinawan sweet potato. In laboratory tests of an improved high-starch American variety, the composition when ground for starch was: moisture, 64.5%; starch, 25.5%; sugars, 2.8%; crude protein, 1.5%; pectic substances, 2.2%; crude fat, 0.6%; mineral matter, 0.9%; other, 2%. Sweet potato carotene can be readily converted to Vitamin A. See Dawson, F. R., Greathouse, L. H., and Gordon, W. O. Sweet potatoes: more than starch. In: Crops in peace and war. (U. S. Dept. of Agric., The yearbook of agriculture 1950-51) Washington, 195-203. Ref. on 195, 201. [146]

Okinawans

164 blame tooth decay on the brown sugar. It may be diet or water.
[753] Use of tooth brushes varies considerably with individuals and
[515] families.

The standard of cleanliness in Okinawan homes is not high,
515 but this cannot be ascribed to indifference. One should constantly bear in mind that it is easy to keep clean with plenty of soap,
511 showers, hot running water, washing machines, and flush toilets.

9

Native Medicine

278 The native medicine has already been referred to in the discussion of fish and wild plants used as medicines. Their use has declined with growing reliance on manufactured drugs and pharmaceuticals.

757 The golden needle (*kinbari*) is still used by rural doctors (*yabu*)
[759] in the treatment of inflamations of the joints and rheumatism. There was one such doctor in Minatogawa, but ordinarily he is called only when real medical attention is not available.

! [913] The needle is scarcely thicker than a horse hair. It is encased in a shaft about 2 3/8 inches long. The grip or base of the needle is 3/4 of an inch long and the needle itself 1 7/8 inches. The needle is tapped and gradually worked into the affected part, and a length from 3/4 to one inch is broken off and allowed to remain in the body and circulate to effect its curative powers.

Blood letting is still practiced, often by the individual himself. Thin cuts are made with a razor, generally on the forehead above the eyebrows and slanting toward the bridge of the nose. This is done to relieve headaches and general pains and may be resorted to after aspirin has failed to relieve a headache. On a close look, one can often observe the slight, thin, long scars, which look like tiny wrinkles, resulting from these slashes. During the operation, a *sake* cup is held up to the place being cut. The cup may even have a little *sake* in it. When done by a native doctor, the blood may be sucked through a small tube and allowed to drip into a *sake* cup.

Cauterization using *mogusa* (moxa) also is still common. One can frequently see scar tissue, the results of burning *mogusa* on the flesh, usually in the area around the wrist. *Mogusa* is applied with glowing charcoal sticks, burning thread, or tobacco. It is used for no specific complaint, but as a counter-irritant cureall for a wide variety of ailments.

Acupuncture apparently is little used now. Formerly an area was pricked with a needle, or a series of needles brought to a point, and
[386] an indigo dye applied. One can observe these round spots, circles of dots, occasionally on the shoulders and the backs of older people. These should not be confused with tattooing.

The native medicine, including the use of plants and fish as medicines, the native doctor, the use of cauterization, the golden needle, slashing, and acupuncture, seem to be disappearing in favor of modern patent medicines and drugs, and scientific medicine, nursing, and midwifery. Of all the traditional practices (ultimately derived from China), slashing and burning with moguss seem to have the greatest vitality. 75 178 [177]

10

Tattooing

Tattooing (ireizumi) in Japanese, dake in Okinawan) is a subject of great historical interest in the Ryukyu chain. In Okinawa, it exists now only among elderly women (in the late sixties and seventies), as it was forbidden by law when the Japanese annexed the islands. Tattooing usually was done on the back of the hands, including the fingers, parts of the wrist, and the knuckles. The design was put on by spreading India ink (often with sake or awamori added) on the surface, pricking out the design and wiping off the surplus, repeating the operation for the lighter parts. To my knowledge, there was no facial tattooing. 304 [636] [386]

Until quite recently tattooing was practiced on men as well. Basil Hall in 1816 wrote of a landing in the south of Okinawa island. "Most of these people had fish spears tatooed on their arms in the form of a trident, with rude barbs." On the right arm it was called (in Hall's transcription) "oodeemaw," and on the left, "tooga." Apparently this was confined to fishermen. Furness in his account of the Luchus (1899) observed such markings among young and mature men in Itoman. The explanation given him was that they were a protection against evil spirits. Furness also discussed the theory that tattooing was historically connected with weaving. Simon, in an interesting speculative discussion, based on the designs of cloth in Miyako and their correspondence with house or family markings thought that the tattooing was a means of identifying women's membership in a family.[7] 304 114 [531] [789] [602]

This interesting idea unfortunately did not occur to me while in the villages, but the notion that tattooing may have been related 119 304 602

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[7] Hall's Voyage, as cited, Vocabulary (no pagination). Hall includes sketches of the marks. Furness, Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 9. See also Simon's extremely interesting discussion, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 134-150. Furness and Simon are especially valuable because they personally observed instances of tattooing at a time when it was much more commonly seen. Both authors reproduce patterns which show differences among the islands and among individuals.

114 to the family system, the extended family, or to the household
304 order naming system is well worth exploring. No tattooing was
602 observed among the Minatogawa fishermen, but this may have been
an oversight. According to an old women there, it did exist.
One would expect it from the close relationship of Minatogawa to
Itoman. It is quite probable, in my opinion, that tattooing of
men and women have different origins.

304 According to the early observers, tattooing of women took place around puberty, although Furness puts the age at 4 or 5 years. Patterns differed distinctly by island.

In Okinawa, everywhere one hears the same explanation for the
origin of women's tattooing. Although there are variants, the core
of the explanation is that the Ryukyu islanders (presumably after
the Satsuma conquest of 1609) tattooed their young girls to prevent
[648] their being carried off to brothels in Japan. The tattooing was
supposed to have made the girls so unattractive that they were untouched.
Other variations are that the tattoo indicated marriage
and thus kept the girl from being taken away. An old woman of
Minatogawa told of a legend (not seen or heard from any other source)
in which the tattooing of women was an act of thanksgiving for a
rescue at sea. A boat was sinking, and the survivors swimming saw
[773] two hands in the sky. They stopped the waves and the storm passed,
permitting the swimmers to reach shore easily. The families were
told, and after that the hands of the women were tattooed.

This subject needs considerable research. It would be of great
[119] interest to know the relationship, if any, to the family system, the
extended family, and the household order naming system, whether it
is comparatively recent in the islands, and whether the tattooing
of the fisherman is a result of Chinese or Portugese influences and a
[177] consequence of the early Pacific trade described in Chapter II.

11

Knuckle Cracking

157 One of the most puzzling of Okinawan mannerisms is the frequency of knuckle cracking. It may be observed in young children from 5 to 6 to old men and women in their seventies. It is done on so many occasions that cataloging them would be a real chore. The knuckle is cracked crisply and sharply. Young boys and girls may talk a whole evening, cracking their knuckles incessantly. It occurs in ordinary conversation, at lively parties, and during periods when a conversation lags. Children say they learned it from their mothers.

It seems a habit acquired very early. Perhaps it is an indication of tension, but I am inclined to be less specific. One Okinawan explained it as a continuation of childhood habit and ascribed it to the limberness of the fingers coming from early training on the abacus, discounting the idea that it was a sign of nervousness or of being ill at ease. Certainly it occurs equally with strangers, relatives and life-long friends, and it may well be nothing more than an extremely common mannerism. 157

12

The Tide

Scattered throughout the previous discussion there have been references to the importance of reckoning the tide on certain occasions. At these times, it is necessary that it either be high tide or that the tide is coming in. Though doubtless there are many more instances than have been mentioned, the following were found to be the most common occasions in which high tide or the beginning of flood tide was considered: (1) The marriage ceremony of san-san-kudo, (2) giving a child a name on its birth date, (3) when moving from a main house to a branch house, (4) when the child is given symbolic gifts at his first birthday party, (5) when carrying salt, the Buddhist god shelf and other articles into a new house. 823

Under these circumstances it is necessary to be able to compute the tide quickly and easily. For this purpose, the lunar month is divided into two periods of 15 days each. From an almanac a figure is obtained which gives the number of hours to be added to 12 o'clock on the first day of the 15 day lunar cycle. This is 0.8 hours or 48 minutes for low tide. (Everyone seems to have this at his finger tips). On the first day of the fifteen day cycle, low tide is 48 minutes after 12 o'clock. High tide is obtained by adding or subtracting 6 hours. The computation is shown in the following table. 805 823

Lunar Day at 12 o'clock (15 day cycle)		Multiplied by:	Equals Period of time in Hours to be Added to 12 o'clock.	Or, Low Tide at:
1	x	0.8 hrs	0.8 hrs.	12:48
2	x	0.8	1.6	1:36
3	x	0.8	2.4	2:24
4	x	0.8	3.2	3:12
5	x	0.8	4.0	4:00
6	x	0.8	4.8	4:48
7	x	0.8	5.6	5:36
8	x	0.8	6.4	6:24
9	x	0.8	7.2	7:12
10	x	0.8	8.0	8:00
11	x	0.8	8.8	8:48
12	x	0.8	9.6	9:36
13	x	0.8	10.4	10:24
14	x	0.8	11.2	11:12
15	x	0.8	12.0	12:00
16 (or 1)	x	0.8	12.8	12:48

To obtain high tide add or subtract 6 hours.

13

Home Industries, Arts, and Crafts

438 Home industries, arts, and crafts are not a conspicuous part of the life of the villages studied. Even before the war, home crafts, training in dancing, singing, landscape gardening were not cultivated to any degree.

252 Certain foods, like bean curd and bean paste, are made in the home. There is a standard method of preparing bean curd. The soy beans are soaked until soft and then mashed in a hand operated stone mill or quern. This mill has two round stones. The top stone, turned by hand, rests on the stationary bottom stone. The crushed beans, thinned by frequent dashes of water, ooze out of the space between the two stones. This liquid is collected and strained through a cloth drawn over the top of a frame box. The residue in the cloth is saved for pig food. The liquid is boiled. After it curdles, it is strained. The curds remain in the cloth, the liquid [231] is also used for the pigs. The curds, of the consistency of a soft cottage cheese, are wrapped in a cloth and put in the frame box. A tight fitting lid is put on the box and pressed down hard to expel the rest of the liquid. After the curd has been thoroughly pressed, the frame box is turned upside down, the curd taken out, and the cloth wrapper removed. The smooth mold can now be sliced. It is a common sight to see women operating these mills in the villages before a family celebration or a public holiday. Bean curd, fried, boiled in a soup, or in a mixture with vegetables, or as an ingredient [579] of sukiyaki is always served at a party.

251 Bean paste (miso), an even more important food, is also made in the home. Most families serve bean paste soup (misoshiru) every 252 meal every day. It has four basic ingredients: soy beans, rice (or barley), salt, and water. Recipes differ considerably among [264] families. In one recipe, 8 sho of rice are boiled, after which it is spread out on a large flat basket to drain, and then placed on a mat and allowed to ferment for about one week. An equal amount of soy beans, crushed in a stone mortar, is mixed with the rice. Salt (about 7 go, one go being 1/10 of a sho) is added and the mixture is boiled.[8] The salt retards fermentation and is a preservative. If obtainable, an American hand food grinder is preferred to the mortar and pestle. The mixture is put in a large jar (tsubo) which is placed in the kitchen or in a storeroom and allowed to stand at least a year, sometimes for three. With age, the paste becomes sweeter and is considered to be better. A woman may make three large jars of bean paste 3 times a year, the frequency depending on the size of the jars. Some are 5 1/2 feet high. Occasionally the cycad is an ingredient of miso. Every house has a supply of bean paste. When ready for use, it is very soluble in water.

[804] [8] A koku equals 10 to equals 100 sho equals 1000 go, 47.96 US gallons liquid, 5.12 US dry bushels.

Few articles for wear or general household use are made in the 283
home. In Hanashiro and Matsuda, different kinds of ropes are made from
the palm or from rice straw. The fibre of the palm is pulled apart
and carded with the hands. Lengths of the fibre are twisted by rolling
between the palms of the hand. These ropes are very strong, but the
palm fibre is now scarce.

Weaker articles made of rice straw are far more common. The chief 824
ones are ropes (waratsuna), mats (mushiro), a rope mesh (ōda in Okinawan)
carried on the ends of poles, twine, and swings (buranko) for children.
Braided rice twine is used to tie the dwarf bamboo down to the roof before
putting on the tile on top. In Minatogawa, very few articles of home
manufacture are made. Some mats, a very few slippers, and fishing lures 438
are the chief articles.

The people of Matsuda have better plant fibres and more mat making 285
is found here. Two families specialize in making mats, one using a foot
operated loom from Japan, the other a very simple hand loom. Mats are
made from two plants which are indigenous: the i rush and the pandanus.
Two kinds are used, a three cornered (sankaku) and the round (maru), the
latter considered superior. In Matsuda, there are four types of mats
distinguished by the materials employed: (1) the pandanus mat, (2) the
pandanus as the warp, the i rush as the weft, (3) cotton string as the
warp, the i as the weft, and (4) an all i rush mat. The best quality
is the all rush mat. It is a strong, closely woven and attractive mat.
Weaving is done by men in their spare time, or as a full time occupation [462]
by those physically unable to do hard work. Occasionally women weave,
but it is uncommon. The market is mainly local.

In the simple upright hand loom, the warp beam is attached to the 285
top board of the loom. The warp is stretched taut and fastened to the 286
bottom board of the loom (corresponding with the cloth beam). The cotton
strings, which make up the warp, are alternately set forward and backward,
and when the weft is pushed in it goes over one string and under another
to make the weave. The weft once in place is pushed down to the bottom
by a movable board, with holes which guide it up and down the warp, to
make the weave. In lieu of a shuttle, the rush strips used as a weft
are guided through the cotton strings of the warp with a piece of bamboo
about 4 feet long notched in the end like a bottle cap opener. One end
of the rush is put in the notch and the stick is pushed alternately through
the threads of the warp. The ends of the weft are tied to the warp to
make a fringe and secure the mat against ripping. The rush is wet with a
brush before using. It takes about 12 hours to make a 3 x 6 foot mat
on this type of loom.

Men in Matsuda also make rough baskets, mainly for carrying vegetables 285
and the stationary barriers (hinpun), made of the dwarf bamboo. These
are woven diagonally when the plant is green and moist.

In the villages there is little effort to beautify the courtyard, 351
train trees, or to cultivate shrubs and flowers. Now and then one sees
a flower bed in the compound or the remains of a rock garden with shrubs
and a small pond. But there is little to suggest the Japanese skill in
these matters.

543 these matters. In township exhibits of arts and crafts, there are
evidences of these skills, such as the training of a chrysanthemum,
a favorite choice, but these are not part of daily life.

532 Yet there is evidence of artistic talent and interest which
teachers and parents encourage in the young. Okinawan children draw
[353] and copy well. It is not unusual to see an otherwise bare room of a
poor farmer's home decorated with the paintings or drawings of a son
or daughter. While clearly the work of novices, they often show
feeling for line and color. School buildings, houses, and landscapes
are the favorite subjects. Drawing skills come as no surprise because
of the close relationship, in countries using the Chinese character,
875 of calligraphy and art. Teachers of drawing and art in the schools
are skillful in rapid sketching, and part of this skill must be the result
212 of early training in the sequence of strokes and in writing the
Chinese character with confidence and boldness.

Dancing and *samisen* playing are learned by imitation and self-instruction.
535 Music is learned by ear, the dancing by observing the old
533 and skilled. Parents do not instruct their children in these arts;
they pick up the skill themselves. There are no village teachers nor
868 do the schools teach native dances, songs, or *samisen* playing. (In
recent years instruction books have been furnished when a *samisen* is
[562] purchased). *Samisen* playing is a monopoly of the men, many of whom also
have a repertoire of traditional dances. These performers are always
in demand on social occasions. Both old and young men dance, but only
the old women feel free to do so. Seeing a seventy or eighty year old
grandmother dancing at a party is commonplace, but I have never seen a
young girl or a young woman in her thirties doing this. (Young girls
and young women may participate in formal dances in processions and on
holidays). Among the younger people, there is considerable interest, but
little facility in American dancing.

532 Hanging scrolls (*kakemono*) are often purchased by the villagers.
But these are dashed off affairs, following Japanese art conventions,
such as the jolly Japanese patron saint, tigers, the bamboo-plum
blossom-cherry triad, and the turtle and the cormorant, etc.

181 One has the impression of latent talent in music, dancing, and
drawing but that the cultural conditions have not been favorable to
[533] their development. Social events and parties are unthinkable without
singing, dancing, and *samisen* playing. Good drawing and calligraphy
[535] are admired. But none of these seem to be highly developed folk arts.
Possibly one reason is that the transmission of the skills has been
[532] purely imitative, and that a body of knowledge has not accumulated in
[868] books, organized teaching, or through apprenticeship and hereditary
occupations by which ideas can be improved upon by wider dissemination.
[369] The cultural isolation of rural villages may have prevented the building
up of a tradition in art and handicraft. Naha and Shuri, the historical
cultural centers, have produced the fine examples of lacquer ware,
ceramics, and paintings. Possibly also Japanese repression of the native
[636] culture has been the main reason. Whatever they are, the lack of advance-

181 ment in these arts, in my opinion, is not due to absence of feeling and talent, but to conditions unfavorable to the development of ability beyond the stage of extemporaneous entertainment or for simple practical ends.

14

Activities of Old Age

888 In old age there is no distinct break with the activities experienced from childhood. Around the age of 55 a man or a woman is considered old. He or she has left the middle age, and henceforth may be called grandfather or grandmother.

887 A man legally retires at sixty. But this is retirement from house headship not from active work. The retired father remains in the background but he is respected and consulted. Men and women in their fifties, sixties, and seventies work much more leisurely and sporadically at their tasks, if they can. In the eighties, if they are still able, they confine themselves to strolls throughout the village. There are afternoon naps. The old go to bed very early. But they do not, if physically able, lose contact with the life around them.

This lack of retirement from active life, among the old, is most pronounced in agricultural villages because there are so many simple and easy chores to be done. In non-agricultural occupations, the opportunities for continuing work in old age are not so great. But there are compromises. In Minatogawa, the old men often repair the fishing nets, help take care of the boats, dry fish, and cut grasses. The old stonecutter does light chipping and bevelling. The old women may gather rocks.

888 887 There is no formal legal retirement for a woman, unless she is the head of a house. One of the striking activities of old women is their frequent travelling on buses. They may be merely visiting a nearby village, or they may have a basket of fish, vegetables, eggs, or perhaps a chicken to sell. They add humor and gayety to a bus journey. An old woman does not hesitate to tell a young person politely but authoritatively to give her a seat or to ask the passengers to make way for her. Old women make humorous comments, and talk freely to total strangers. Okinawans of all ages are courteous to the old and to women with children and readily give up their seats, even on a long bus journey.

888 In these villages, one cannot fail to notice the good humor, the interest in life, and the honored place of the old. It is not uncommon for a young man or a young woman from another village, in leisure hours, to visit an old person: a grandparent, an uncle or an aunt, the midwife who attended at his birth, his "growing up" parent, or the elderly relative of one of his friends. These visits are not mere formalities, and they may sit talking an hour or two over tea. Old men and women

888 alike take part in conversations, discussing such topics as the price of rice, fish, or the market for village products, and other current happenings in the village.

One of the most pleasing, one might even say touching, aspects of the life of the old is the mutual respect between the elderly and the young. A young man in his late teens or early twenties talks to a retired village elder with respect, but not exaggerated deference, nor does he hesitate to express his own opinion. The elder man or woman listens as if the opinion of the young were worth hearing and there is no condescension in his reply.

The reasons for these fine relationships, I am convinced, are that both the old and the young meet one another as active participants in the culture in which they both live. The old, whether in poverty or affluence, are not shoved aside or ignored as persons no longer directly concerned with the questions, even the decisions, of an active life.

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CHAPTER XVI

DEATH AND MEMORY OF THE DEAD

1 Death and Funeral Services
2 Burial Places and the Family System
3 Observances in Memory of the Dead

1

Death and Funeral Services

Okinawans, as so many have thought, are not preoccupied with 761
death, burial customs, and their tombs. The popular criticism that 181
they extravagantly spend all their money building tombs is unjust
and comes from a superficial understanding of their function.
Memorial observances, not the tombs, are the real sources of expense [769]
to surviving relatives.

The same basic customs were found in all the villages. On the 764 death of an adult, the eyes are closed, the body washed, and fresh clothes are put on it. There is no embalming. The finger nails and hair are cut. (Haircutting is not universal). The body is then placed in a small wooden coffin. This is about 19 inches wide and about 22 inches deep, with the length varying according to height. An average length would be slightly over 4 feet. This is the traditional Buddhist coffin. Placing the body in a coffin this size requires doubling it up. The head rests on a small Japanese type pillow (makura). The legs are bent to bring the knees near the chin, and the hands folded over the chest. Articles for use in the afterworld, okurimono ("sending away things"), are also placed in the coffin. Though the articles vary, they generally include a pair of slippers, a kimono (for a woman), a kimono or western style pair of pants for a man, tobacco and tobacco cases, a towel, and sake in one flask, and water in another. Seven needles are stuck on each side of the kimono or the lapel of a coat. In Hanashiro, clogs and slippers are not placed in the coffin, but in front of the tomb at interment. When the coffin is closed, it is turned with the head facing west.[1]

On death, close relatives up to first cousins are first summoned, followed by relatives in the extended family living in or near the village. There are no hard and fast customs about taking care of the body. First or other sons may take care of a father's body; brothers and cousins of a young girl's; the first son of the mother's; the oldest younger brother of an older brother's; the first son or the father of a second or succeeding son's. Sometimes female relatives take care of the body. A husband or wife does not perform this duty for the other. The father or the mother prepare the body of a younger child.

Burial follows death very quickly. By law a body must be buried within 24 hours, but the interment is often quicker than this. An adult

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[1] There is confusion whether the head is placed to the north or to the west because the Okinawan word for north is the Japanese word for west.

764 dying in the evening or during the night is buried the next day, one dying in the morning will probably be interred by nightfall.

766 Burial customs for children differ from those of adults. The immediate burial of a dead child seems to be general in the villages, even if, according to one informant, it dies at 12 or 1 o'clock in the morning. With the death verified, relatives are called, and the child might be taken away within 15 minutes. Certain distinctions are made depending on whether (1) the child is still-born or dies shortly after birth, (2) the child is under 8 years old, and (3) the child is 8 years or older. [845] A premature, still-born child, or an infant dying shortly after birth is buried almost immediately in the compound, usually behind the house. The child under eight is buried in a temporary grave near the family tomb, remaining there until the family tomb is opened upon the death of an adult. The infant's bones are then gathered up and put in the tomb. The temporary grave is prepared by a younger man of the family. The dead child is carried by the mother, an aunt or other female relative. The tomb, in general practice, is opened for a child over 8 years of age.

These are general statements and the details vary. In Minatogawa, for example, a child's funeral is similar to an adult's, but the body is not put in the coffin until the tomb is reached. The mother, or a close female relative, carries it in her arms. The coffin is carried by other mourners. The explanation given is that it was formerly believed that the child might revive on the way. In a child's funeral here, there is no banner announcing the name and death date, at the head of the procession. Neither is a hearse or funeral palanquin (gan) used.

In Matsuda, this palanquin also is not used for children 8 and under. Whether a tomb is opened for a child seems to depend on individual family custom. In one case, an extended family tomb was not opened for a child; in another it was. The child is carried to the tomb and then placed in the coffin. In this village, children are not buried immediately. The custom is the same as for adults.

764 178 [793] Judging by descriptions which villagers gave of pre-war customs, funerals and burial customs have been simplified in the post-war period. The services of Buddhist priests have been almost completely dispensed with. Offerings are more modest. Priestesses (noro) and their assistants seldom officiate. The contemporary rural Okinawan funeral is simple. The following description of a funeral observed near Gushichan village probably is typical.

764 The deceased, a woman of 40, died about eleven in the morning. The funeral procession passed the village office at 5:30 on the same day. There were no special ceremonies before the funeral. The body, washed and dressed, had been placed in the coffin which was put on the funeral palanquin or hearse. This red palanquin is normally owned by the village. Since the war, not all villages have an gan.

The hearse was carried by four young men. (There may be 8 pallbearers, four for relief if the tomb is at a distance). At the head of the procession, there was a group of older men, some relatives, some close friends of the family. Behind them was the hearse, followed by the immediate female relatives of the deceased. One of these, a young daughter, crying softly, was helped along by an aunt. At the end were the rest of the women, both friends and neighbors.

The procession left the road and wound up a narrow path leading to the tomb, located on the summit of a rocky hill with a magnificent view of the nearby mountains, the valley and the sea below. The ringing of a bell could be heard as the hearse approached the tomb. A small stone in front of the tomb had been removed. Above the opening, a white cloth, about the size of a large handkerchief fluttered in the chill wind. On it there was written (in Chinese characters) "The spirit of ____"(______ *no rei*). Friends and relatives went in the tomb area. Others remained outside its entrances, standing in the grass near a sweet potato patch, reclaimed from the stony soil. When the hearse arrived, the pallbearers immediately took the coffin out. It was shoved into the aperture of the tomb, one or two men going in first to guide it in straight. The point of the final farewell had now been reached. The women relatives who had gathered around the hearse now sobbed and cried more audibly. The men did not assemble as a group. Neither was there any outward sign of grief among them. During this short period of final prayer, everyone kneeled. The stone was replaced over the opening. Charcoal sticks were lighted. The prayer over, everyone walked silently down the path from the rocky hill with its high *miscanthus* grass. There was a high wind and the dusk was deepened by the low dark thunder clouds.

Several comments are worth mentioning regarding the preceding description. At the head of the procession there may be a small banner (*hata*) with the name of the deceased and the date of death. This practice has fallen into disuse. When used, either a white or red (the color seems to have no significance) banner is carried by a grandchild or other child relative of the deceased. Minatogawa was the only village in which the banner was still used.

The method of selecting pallbearers may also vary. In Minatogawa, they are usually chosen from among friends and relatives. In Hanashiro, the young men from the neighborhood group (*han*) in which the deceased lived become the pallbearers. Here also adults representing each family in the village assemble as a mark of respect in front of the house of the deceased.

The order of march in the procession is fairly standardized: (1) the banner if used, (2) the male mourners. In some instances, male relatives precede the others. (3) The palanquin with the coffin, (4) the close female relatives of the deceased. This group occasionally may include parents and children, although it is more usual for the adult male relatives to be in the leading group, and (5) the women, without regard to relationship.

764 The beginning of a funeral procession is announced by a gong in the yard of a village office. The head man and other leaders and elders of the village attend the funeral. The mayor of the township or his representative joins in the procession.

[793] A Buddhist priest (bōsu-san) did not officiate at this funeral. Priests are scarce in rural Okinawa. Most of them were Japanese who returned to Japan after the war. Families can also save by dispensing with the Buddhist service. The participation of Buddhist priests, already nominal before the war, has now in the villages studied, virtually disappeared.

769 It is customary at a death to give a ten or twenty yen offering
to the family. The money is put in a small envelop with an expression
431 of sympathy written on it. (In Okinawa money is the usual gift at marriage, birthday celebrations, and at death. The gift may be put in a small envelop but it is common also to give a loose bill).

Early on the morning following the funeral, the tomb is visited
765 by members of the family. Food offerings of rice, tea, sake, and a
[782] flower may be placed in front of the tomb. A charcoal stick is burned.
These visits with the offerings and prayers on the following morning
are associated with a belief, still held by the old, that the dead
[761] person might still be alive and that the pounding of an adult on the
wall or the crying of a child might be heard so that the living could
be rescued from the tomb. The belief that the person might still be
alive and possibly could be heard seems to persist in Hanashiro and
Minatogawa. It was not encountered in Matsuda, although it might well
exist.

2

Burial Places and the Family System

764 Okinawan tombs have excited the interest of foreigners from the
earliest days of European contact. There are no cemeteries in the
usual sense of the word, but areas scattered throughout the countryside,
usually on the tops of hills, or on the stony sides of mountains, are
[311] given over to burial grounds. Tombs are not located on land suitable
for agriculture. It has been said that the Japanese forbad using
agricultural land for tombs, but the practice in Okinawa seems to antedate
these Japanese interferences in the culture of the rural areas. In the
interior, the tombs are always on wild (genya) land. But one can also
see tombs along the seashore and on offshore rocks. The outstanding
[565] exceptions to this are the royal tomb area in Shuri, now largely destroyed,
and the large and dramatically placed tombs in the center of Itoman town.
In the case of Itoman, it is quite probable that the growing town has
surrounded the areas taken as tomb sites.

Of the several types of tombs, the turtleback (kamekokata) is the most famous. It has been variously described by European travellers as

the tomb shaped like a horseshoe or the Greek letter, *omega*. A great 764
deal of popular lore has accumulated around this type of tomb. Okinawans believe that the shape of the tomb symbolizes the position of a woman giving birth to a child. This is related to another idea, "returning to the source" (*moto ni kaeru* in Japanese). [811]

Four different but related meanings seem to be involved in the idea of "returning to the source": (1) that life here is but a momentary experience. One's real and permanent life is in the afterworld. At death one returns to his permanent home. (2) After death a person becomes a god (*hotoke-san*) in the Buddhist sense. He reaches this state 49 days after death, according to some explanations, though there is much confusion on this point. This godhood is a "return to the source." (3) At death one returns to a state of peace, and (4) one returns to a former state or to a former place. It is with this last meaning that the turtleback tomb is associated in popular lore with "returning to the source." 761 775

On death one returns to the womb of nature from which he came. (Similar lore has collected around the Buddhist coffin in which the corpse is put in a position like that of a child in the womb). Whether the popular explanation is the true one is very hard to say. It certainly should not be accepted without critically evaluating the questions which such an explanation raises. Early European and American observers were quick to point out the similarities between those tombs and those of China, though the fact that they were introduced from China does not rule out the symbolic meaning they might have. Many Okinawans regard these tombs as indigenous. But the Okinawan antiquarians, who so love to find symbols in everything, would be loathe to surrender this lore. It is generally agreed that the tombs were introduced from Fukien province in China. Captain Basil Hall was the first western traveller, I think, to notice the similarity between Okinawan and Fukien tombs. M'Leod also mentioned it. 775 764 811 [114] [171] [177]

The gable (*hafu*) type of tomb is very common. There are also small temporary tombs of masonry, more often built of rocks. The tombs of Minatogawa are of this type. There are also very old tombs, hollowed out of the rock of a hillside. These were rare in the villages. Only one was seen in the dense vegetation and undergrowth at the bottom of a deep ravine in the center of Matsuda. Large tombs hollowed out of hillsides are a commonplace, but the small ones apparently were the tombs of the very poor. Recently a new small tomb is being built by families unwilling to undergo the expense of the larger tombs. Tombs, though appearing to be haphazardly placed on mountains or on rocky hillsides, are on privately owned land. 764 [565]

The tombs may also be classified as to use, that is, whether they are intended for a single or the extended family. In Hanashiro, tombs are of the extended family type, located on land owned by the main family. They are the responsibility of the head of the main family. Branch families may contribute to the purchase price of the land, construction materials, and to maintenance. 764 602

000 construction materials, and to maintenance.

In an earlier chapter, a villager's remark was quoted to the effect
614 that Minatogawa was a branch family of Itoman. This is well illustrated
in the burial customs of this village. Both children and adults are
766 placed in a simple, temporary tomb, usually along the coast near the
stonecutting area. Later the tomb is opened, the bones washed, and
sent to Itoman. The transfer of the remains from the temporary tombs
of the village to the extended family tomb in Itoman may be done at a time
when it is necessary to open the Itoman tomb because of the death of a
member of the extended family there. There is no second funeral. The
cleaned bones are put in a box. There are short prayers before the opened
Itoman tomb, the bones placed inside, and the box discarded.

764 In the adjoining village of Nagamo, burial customs are similar to
those of Hanashiro. Nagamo has three different kinds of tombs: (1) large
602 gable and turtleback extended family types, (2) a similar large tomb for
a single family, and (3) small tombs for individual families.

The tombs of Matsuda also are mainly of the extended family type. There are examples here of the turtleback, the gable, and the new small tomb. They are scattered throughout the village area, sometimes on the summit of a hill whose slopes are given over to terraced rice fields or dry cropping. Not all families own tombs; for reasons of economy, the small tomb for individual burial is becoming more frequent.

765 In all the villages, after the coffin is put inside the tomb, it is
left there for about three years. The tomb is reopened, the bones are
removed from the coffin, washed, and put back in the tomb, tasks done by
[462] female relatives of the deceased, usually women over 40 years old. This
three year period is not a set one. If a later death occurs in the
[178] family, the coffin may be opened at that time. An old custom of placing
the bones in an urn after they are taken from the coffin has been
abandoned. Basil Hall has some interesting comments on these old
[114] Okinawan urns.

3

Observances in Memory of the Dead

765 Observances in memory of the dead are held in all villages on the
1st, 7th, 14th, 21st, 28th, 35th, 42nd, and 49th day after death, and on
769 the 1st, 3rd, 7th, 13th, 25th, and 33rd anniversary of death.

The simple observances and prayers at the tomb on the day following
765 burial have already been mentioned. At the home, temporary memorial
tablets made of white paper (shiroihai) are prepared to be replaced later
with permanent red memorial tablets on the Buddhist god shelf. Both at
home and at the tomb only relatives or close friends participate in the
prayers and food offerings.

The tomb is revisited on the 7th day. Rice cakes, bean curd, 765
and a little sake may be taken as offerings. The food items vary.
Pork, rice, and tea may be added or substituted. The offering may [262]
consist of a variety of favored foods (a gochisō, a feast or a treat).
The observances on the 14th, 21st, 28th, 35th, and 42nd day are like
the preceding ones, though beginning with the 35th day, the prayers
and the food offerings may be more elaborate.

The 49th day has special significance. At this time, the temporary
white memorial tablets are removed from the god shelf and burned, and
the permanent tablets hung there. This god shelf has the tablets of [778]
the immediate family in the male line: the father, grandfather, the
mother and grandmother, or of deceased children. A son who establishes
a branch family has a god shelf in his own house. While I found no
unanimity on the point, many interpreted the 49th day as the day on
which the deceased is presumed to have become a god (hotoke-san). Others [776]
have said this did not take place until the 33rd year after death, certainly a more logical time, since the observances cease at this time.
On the 49th day, there are visits to the tomb and prayers before the god
shelf at night. As the last of a series of observances which follow
closely after death, the food offerings and the food served to guests
are much more sumptuous than those of previous weeks.

In the annual anniversaries, differences depend on family piety 769
and economic status. With some families, observances become more
elaborate as the years go by. The prayers and the feast of the 1st and
3rd years are usually the same as that of the 49th day. Beginning with
the 7th year the rice may be dyed red. Rice dyed red is used as the
years from the date of death increase. In all cases, the 33rd year is
the last and the most luxurious of the celebrations. The occasion begins with prayers at the god shelf, the food offering, sake, followed
by a banquet for the guests, most of whom are relatives. This 33rd
year celebration is the final recognition of a person's life on earth as
a member of the family and ends the responsibility for observing the
anniversary of his death.

Though rare, a family may call on a Buddhist priest to officiate 769
at one of these memorial observances. One service, in memory of a fourth
son who had died in the Philippines in 1944, was observed in Minatogawa. 793
The priest received from the father the name, age, and place of death 788
of his son and wrote this information on a piece of paper. The chant
began with the tapping of a small bell (inkin), ringing which was repeated frequently throughout the service. The chant, which lasted about
25 minutes, was sung in an archaic Japanese which no one understood.
Toward the end, the priest read the paper on which he had written the
information regarding the deceased. These were the only words which
could be clearly understood. The purpose here was to inform the Buddha
of the name of the dead. The priest wore a black robe with gold trimming. [292]
Around his neck was a string of beads (zuzu) with a pendant purple tassel.
He sat in the front of the first room with the father of the dead boy on
his right. The women guests were in the second room. As the long chant
continued, people began talking to one another, and when the priest

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In the annual anniversaries, differences depend on family piety 769 and economic status. With some families, observances become more elaborate as the years go by. The prayers and the feast of the 1st and 3rd years are usually the same as that of the 49th day. Beginning with the 7th year the rice may be dyed red. Rice dyed red is used as the years from the date of death increase. In all cases, the 33rd year is the last and the most luxurious of the celebrations. The occasion begins with prayers at the god shelf, the food offering, sake, followed by a banquet for the guests, most of whom are relatives. This 33rd year celebration is the final recognition of a person's life on earth as a member of the family and ends the responsibility for observing the anniversary of his death.

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769 finished the restless children already had become noisy. The ceremony
completed, the priest exchanged a few courtesies, explained the
793 significance of the chant to the father, received a gratuity and left
788 shortly after. The women and the children soon retired, and the men
were served sake, but the party was more subdued than the usual social
affair.

These ceremonies in memory of the dead are the responsibility of
769 the head of the house. These, and not the family tombs, are the
511 real financial burdens. Since the war, village and township governments,
and community organizations have tried to persuade the people to spend
less on these and to spread what good food they have more evenly through-out the year.

829 They have tried to standardise gifts at marriage, on birthdays,
and at deaths, and to cut down the cost of food by simplifying the
511 banquets. In this they have been at least partly successful because
everyone recognizes the difficulties. Villagers do not like to spend all their resources on celebrations, and yet, there is an obligation which cannot be avoided. Two sensible adjustments have been made. Economies have been effected in the food served, and, whenever possible, celebrations or holidays that come close together are combined. The 7 year memorial service, described above, was combined by the family with the festival of the autumnal equinox (higan).

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PART SIX

THE WIDER COMMUNITY EXPERIENCE

CHAPTER XVII

PUBLIC CELEBRATIONS AND HOLIDAYS

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1 The New Year

2 *Jūrokunichi*

3 Celebrations Through the Festival of the Fifth Month

4 *O-Bon*

5 Festival of the Full Moon

6 Other Holidays of the Year

I.

The New Year

Two basic themes are expressed in public celebrations and holidays. The first of these is remembrance and respect for the dead. The holidays are in part public observances of basic obligations under the family system. In the second place, holidays are occasions of thanksgiving. In a year there are not many official holidays or rest days. The work year is not interrupted, as is our custom, with week ends which may provide from one to two days of leisure. Sunday is not a day of rest. Officials and school teachers do not work at their official duties on the week ends. 527

The traditional public holidays are based on the lunar calendar. In the discussion which follows, some holidays have been included, even though they involve only some of the people. [805]

The western New Year is observed perfunctorily. It is observed only by present and former officials and honored elders of a township. The custom, about 40 years old in Gushichan-son, is known as New Year Banquet Party (Shinnenenkai). Headmen from each of the villages, members and former members of the village councils, and respected elders, the mayor and his subordinate officials and members of the township assembly are the chief participants. It is a social event, held in a public building or at a school, a "meeting for conversation" (hanashiai) at which food and sake are served. The event begins early in the afternoon and is generally over by early evening. [177] [554]

Lunar New Year (shōgatsu), the first day of the first lunar month and O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, are the two most important holidays. Lunar New Year falls in late January or early February. (In 1951 it was on February 6; in 1952, on January 27). This is a time of new beginnings, of thanksgiving, family reunions, and observances in honor of the dead. It is a three day holiday, with much prior preparation, and on the third day, there is either a symbolic or a partial return to work.

The new year is preceded by a series of activities on the last day of the 12th month (ōmisoka). Before the war, these preparations were more elaborate than they are now. In Minatogawa, bamboo and pine poles with a rice straw rope (shimenawa) hanging across the top were placed at the compound entrance. The purpose was to scare off evil spirits and devils. A piece of charcoal wrapped in sea weed and an orange hung from the rice rope. This custom now is also rare in Matsuda. Only one rice straw rope used for this purpose was observed, and this had been put up some time before the new year. [789]

Other customs of preparing for the new beginning are still observed in all the villages: the house is cleaned; a bath is taken; old debts are paid; the New Year pig is slaughtered, or in the interests of economy three or four families may share a pig. The day before the New Year is the occasion for recalling one's bad deeds and of resolving on [577]

527 577 better behavior. In one instance from Matsuda, the members of the family talk over their good and bad acts and resolve henceforth to do good.

527 [823] In all the villages, the custom of new or young water (wakamizu) has survived. In Minatogawa, at 5 or 6 o'clock in the morning of the New Year, young children take fresh water in a tea pot to the homes of relatives. The new water is poured into a cup, placed on the Buddhist god shelf, or on the shelf of the fire god in the kitchen. The children are given Y5 or Y10 by the relatives, who are then supposed to stay young themselves. In Matsuda, new water is taken from a well early in the morning, and some is put on the god shelf. The first tea of the New Year is made with "young water".

A parent may also give a piece of pork with salt on it to his child announcing that he is now one year older. This custom is still observed, even though ages officially are now reckoned in the western manner.

[769] [782] In all the villages, the morning observances are family affairs; the public nature of the holiday is evident later. Tea and sake are placed in front of the ancestral tablets on the god shelf. A fresh kimono is put on and the offering is made before breakfast. Then the father takes the sake from the god shelf, offering sips first to his wife and then to the children.

[778] Later there are visits to the place of the patron deity or first ancestor of the village (ujigami). In Hanashiro, all of the people make this visit. In Minatogawa, it is also a village affair, but is more involved because there are more places to go: a local religious site of unknown origin, the palace of the gods of the sea (ryūgū), the supposed place of the mountain god, the three wells with their god places, and finally to the places of the two patron deities. In Matsuda, the village head man, accompanied by surviving minor [793] priestesses (formerly in the noro order) make visits to the place of the patron deity. But whether all the villagers or only their representatives take part, the visits have the same meaning: to offer thanks to the founders of the village.

The New Year is a time for extended family reunions. If the home site of the extended family is not in the village, the family or a representative may go to the reunion in another village, if it is not too far away. Only members of the extended family attend these celebrations.

With early morning observances in the home, the public ceremonies, and the extended family reunions over, the gay, informal and public part of the holiday begins. Hospitality is offered on all sides, and [574] there is much drinking among the men. The celebration continues for the rest of the first day and through the second. The third day is a transitional day whose theme is the need of returning to work. This is hachibaru (to begin farming). The day is given over to more feasting and drinking and to some actual or token work.

By the 7th day, the reminders of New Year have been cleared away. The old offerings are taken from the god shelf and replaced by new food. The rice straw rope, if any, has been removed. 527

Of all the holidays New Year is the most eagerly anticipated and the most varied in its activities. It combines ideas of renewal and new beginnings with worship of the dead and of the founders of the village, as well as being a means of making closer ties with more distant relatives of the extended family. It is a time of work and some pleasure for the women, a time of relaxation and drinking for the men.

2

Jūrokunichi

The second public holiday, Jūrokunichi (literally 16th day) is on the 16th day of the 1st lunar month (February 21, 1951). This is a holiday of devotion and prayer at the family tomb. Worshippers go singly or in a group. The tomb is cleaned and food is left for the dead. 769 [796]

In Hanashiro, food is taken in two lacquer boxes (jūbako) the first of which contains rice cakes, the second, fritters, meat, bean curd, and other food depending on the resources of the family. For the first observance after death, two boxes are taken on this holiday. On succeeding anniversaries only the box containing the fritters, meat, bean curd and other foods is taken.[1] The purpose of this offering is to comfort the dead. The food, usually with tea and sake, is left before the tomb for about two hours and taken home, where it is eaten. (Offerings at tombs or at home are only temporary; later they are removed and eaten as ordinary food). The lacquer boxes may also be taken on New Year, at the spring equinox, and at O-Bon. [262] [415]

In Minatogawa, descendants of the former nobility or gentry (shisoku) take four boxes, two of rice cakes, two of the miscellaneous foods, while descendants of commoners take two boxes, one of the rice cakes, and one of the assortment. Every year the same offering is made. It is not reduced to one box after the first. In Matsuda, any kind of a flower is placed by the tomb. A lacquer box with food is prepared for all who died during the preceding year, but it remains on the god shelf in the house and is not taken to the tomb. The contents of the two boxes are as previously described. On succeeding anniversaries after the first, plates instead of lacquer boxes are used. [565] [262]

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[1] The idea behind this is not clear. Possibly in the first year the dead person requires more food and comfort than in succeeding ones. As they do with so many other practices, most Okinawans explain it by saying that it is shūkan (the custom).

3

Celebrations Through the Festival of the Fifth Month

796 [262] [193] The 15th day of the second lunar month (March 22, 1951) is the Buddhist holiday, *higan*, celebrating the spring equinox. Here it is a home festival of thanksgiving. Barley (*ōmugi*) or barley cakes with brown sugar are offered with prayers for continued good fortune. Other grains, such as rice, millet (*awa*) may be offered, though the cakes (*mugimochi*) are of barley. In Matsuda, this is not a home ceremony. An offering of white rice cakes is made by the village head man, with the assistance of lower orders of the former priestess system, at the site of the village patron deity.

527 [524] [562] The third day of the third month is the festival of the dolls, (*hinamatsuri*). It is not important in Okinawa and is spottily observed. In Minatogawa, it is a woman's holiday. Women and children make dolls. Gifts of dainties and candies in red lacquer boxes are prepared. People from nearby villages come to Minatogawa, bring their lunches, and gather shells and catch fish.

The fifth day of the fifth month is Boy's Day. This Japanese holiday is not significant in the villages. There may be banners with a picture of a carp (*koi no bori*) displayed, visits to the place of the patron deity, some visiting and *samisen* playing, and perhaps a play.

527 526 [778] [782] The 14th day of the 5th month (June 18, 1951) is the festival of the Gods of the Sea and is observed only in Minatogawa. It is this village's greatest celebration. The boat race, held on this day, attracts many from the interior villages. In Hanashiro, most activity ceases while everyone goes to the boat races. Before the races, the villagers go to the religious sites to make small offerings and to pray. The races are held in the estuary of the river. In their excitement, children with infants on their back often wade out in the water to cheer their favorite boat.

796 [793] The Festival of the Fifth Month (*Gogatsumatsuri*) is held on the 15th day of the 5th lunar month (June 19, 1951). Like the festival of the spring equinox, it is a day of thanksgiving. Thanks are given for rice instead of for barley. In Matsuda, the ceremony is conducted by the village head man and former members of the priestess system.[2]

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[114] [825] [2] According to a Matsuda informant, women should not sew on this day. It is a rest day. If work is done, including gathering plants for fertilizer, the dreaded poisonous snake, the *habu*, will come. These customs were not encountered in the other villages.

4

O-Bon

The festival of *O-Bon* takes place on the 15th and 16th of the 796
7th lunar month (August 17-18, 1951), or from the 13th to the 16th, 775
if preliminary preparations are included.[3] This very important
holiday lacks the variety of themes which appear in the celebration 769
of New Year. *O-Bon* is a festival to entice the spirits of the dead
to their earthly home, and then, what is just as important, to induce
them, after their visit, to return to the other world. *O-Bon* is an
occasion for extended family reunions.

Generally on the 7th day of the month, about a week before *O-Bon*, the family or representatives of the family visit the tombs, take an offering of *sake*, and clean up around the tomb. At this time, the dead are asked to come back on *O-Bon*. This is the *tanabata matsuri*.[4]

On the evening of the 13th, two candles are placed within the compound entrance to guide the spirits back. This act of welcome is known as *unke* or *omukaebi*.

In Hanashiro, on the 15th there are prayers and offerings to the dead. Candles are then relit at the compound entrance and the spirits beseeched to return to the afterworld (*ukui* in Okinawan, *okuribi* in Japanese, meaning sending back). This may also be done on the 16th. Members gather at the home of the head of the house of the main family. The 16th is passed in rest and recreation. In Minatogawa, observing the holiday may require a visit to Itoman. The Matsuda custom is like that of Hanashiro.

O-Bon is a colorful holiday. Lanterns are freely used. Whether [916]
the people believe that the spirits of the dead return is a question
to which there is no easy answer. Many observe the formalities and
the customs of *O-Bon* without believing that the spirits have actually [183]
returned. There is formal compliance, but in my opinion real belief
is to be found mostly among women of middle age and older.

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[3] *O-Bon* has been variously translated as "The Lantern Festival," "Festival of the Dead," "All Souls Day," but I prefer here to retain the Japanese word, as these translations are only misleading approximations.

[4] For an interesting discussion of the origin of *tanabata* in Japan, see Chamberlain, Things Japanese, 436-37. In Okinawa one occasionally hears this referred to as a "star festival."

5

Festival of the Full Moon

527 The autumnal equinox, called, like the spring festival, higan, is the last big celebration of the lunar year. It is held during the full moon around the 15th day of the 8th lunar month (September 15, in 1951). It is called jūgoya. The date varies each year, and the actual time for the festival is decided upon by each village. The climax of the festival is the night of the full moon. This, a Buddhist festival, is a time for respect to the dead and of thanksgiving. It is not celebrated in all villages of Okinawa. If it has been a good year, the inducements for local celebrations are greater. The ceremonies are similar to those of the spring equinox on the 15th day of the second month, when thanks are given for barley, and to the 14th day of the 5th month, a day of thanksgiving for rice. The differences seem to be that the festival of the second month is primarily thanksgiving for barley, that of the fifth for rice, and that of the autumnal equinox for all crops. Ceremonies occur within the homes, but public celebrations may not be held in all the villages.

527 788 In one private observance, an old woman placed two bowls of rice, dyed pink (someiko) on the alcove of the first room. After placing the rice on the alcove, she went to the Buddhist god shelf in the second room where she lit charcoal sticks. Then, sitting before the god shelf, she ignited three strips of paper with a charcoal stick. These provide pocket money for the dead. The paper had previously been prepared by placing an aluminum Japanese 10 sen coin (minted before the war) on the paper and tapping the coin sharply with a hammer to make the impression on the paper. The embers were quenched with a little sake. A wash basin with two strips of wood laid diagonally across its top was used for the burning to eliminate the danger of fire. The old lady's granddaughter held the paper on the wood strips with a pair of chopsticks. The old lady then offered three prayers in a scarcely audible voice, the first two with bowed head, the last with her face to the god shelf. Then she served a meal of rice, dyed pink, fish fritters, and sake, though she did not partake of the drink.

[769] Providing pocket money for the dead by tapping an impression of a coin on a strip of paper is now practiced only by the very old. In Hanashiro and Matsuda, this custom is rarely observed. Formerly in Hanashiro, everyone offered pocket money on New Year, O-Bon, and the equinoctial festivals.

In observances which include a party, the ceremonies are likely to be simpler. In one such ceremony observed in Minatogawa, white rice cakes and an assortment of miscellaneous foods, tea, sake, and charcoal sticks were placed on the god shelf. The charcoal sticks were lighted. The rest of the evening was like a normal party, with its segregation of the sexes, noisy conversation, and the running children who upset the tea cups and the sake flasks.

who upset the tea cups and the *sake* flasks. 000

A public parade and celebration was held in Itoman in 1951, and a short digression to describe it may be worth while. The main attraction was a parade, which halted frequently so that participating groups could perform dances, acts, or skits. In these there were several themes: (1) dances by female groups of all ages from beginning school girls to old women in their seventies. Many women wore artificial turtles on their hats, the younger children having paper outlines of turtles. The young girls were led by an older man who kept time either by playing the *samisen* or by clapping his hands. The very young girls beat small tin cans with sticks. The dances of the older girls and women were of two kinds: one symbolised the crane and the turtle (*tsurukame*). The turtle is a symbol of longevity. The second is the pine-bamboo-plum tree triad (*shochikubai*) symbolising long life and beauty. (2) Female impersonators imitated both the traditional Japanese woman with her costume and hair arrangement, and the modern woman with a chignon wearing a bright kimono, sun glasses, and smoking a cigarette. Their antics depended for their humor on the gracelessness of the men: they included mock flirtations and rejections, kicking of the heels, slapping with a fan, and other clowning. (3) Various balancing acts with long poles done by boys and young men. (4) Skits of individuals dressed as savages from the south seas. (5) Humorous acts showing the people of the northern district who were portrayed as jolly country bumpkins. Their caps, with tassels, looked like a cocoanut shell. The long false hair and beards were made of palm fibre. They carried ludicrous looking saws and axes while dragging a log. 527 541 [535] [533] [825] [824] [536]

One feature of the Itoman celebration was the well-known rope pulling contest (*tsunahiki*). The giant rope, made of rice straw, is at least 100 yards long, and about two feet in diameter. Each end has a loop. These loops, joined by a heavy piece of wood, are above the center line. The men of the town divide into two groups. The tug of war began about 5 in the afternoon and was soon over, but one has been known to last until one or two o'clock in the morning. It is found in all villages, but there is no set date for it. The tug of war is an old diversion in Okinawa.[5] 527 526

In former years, Minatogawa people participated in the Itoman festival. In 1951, they held their own evening celebration. This is a time of great beauty, with the light of the full moon illuminating the Pacific, the coral coast, and the mountains. The evening entertainment consists of some acts, similar to vaudeville, and a longer play. Crowds came from the surrounding villages, bringing their own mats and their own *sake*. Most of the officials of the township attended. 527 [628]

[5] Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, has reproduced an interesting painting showing a tug of war in Naha around the end of the 18th century. It shows an audience of court officials, the Chinese ambassador, as well as the various participants. Facing p. 179. [114]

527 [272] [535] [536] Young girls with pots of hot tea circulated in the audience. The stage performance was a combination of local amateur talent and professionals from Naha. Normally the entertainment begins with a traditional Okinawan dance by a professional woman dancer, followed by a short skit. Conversations in Okinawan between an educated man and a stupid rustic are favorite subjects. Acts of this type are greatly enjoyed and cause laughter, mainly I was told because the jokes had sexual overtones. The shorter acts are followed by a play. (The theme of this play will be discussed in the following chapter).

6

Other Holidays of the Year

[824] Chrysanthemum day, the ninth day of the ninth month (October 9, 1951), is a very minor holiday. A chrysanthemum is put in sake, and the flask is placed on the god shelf. A leaf of the plant is put in the sake when it is drunk. People at this time wish one another good health. The festival is only spottily observed.

[262] [252] There is a minor public holiday, the rice cake festival (mochi no matsuri), said to be native to Okinawa, on the 8th day of the 12th lunar month (January 4, 1952). On the day before, women prepare red and white cylindrical rice cakes, about 4 inches long and one inch in diameter. These are wrapped in the leaf of the sannin plant or in the leaves of sugar cane. The glutinous rice cake is made by first soaking rice in water and then mashing it in a hand mill. The rice is put in a cloth bag to allow excess water to drip out. The following morning the rice is boiled and shaped and wrapped in the leaves. The cake is doughy and insipid to taste. On the morning of the 8th, the cakes are placed on the god shelf and after prayers the cakes are removed. They are served during the day to guests. Sometimes children attach strings to these cakes and hang them about the room. The holiday is not observed by every family in the village, but it was recognized in all the villages studied.

[769] The festival of the winter solstice, the longest night of the year (tōji) is known, but Minatogawa was the only place in which its observance was noted. It is a home festival with prayers and the familiar offering of assorted foods to the ancestors.

[177] Western Christmas is not observed in any of the villages. It would not be surprising if it should become a holiday, with gift giving, feasting, and drinking, but without the religious connotations. Since the occupation, Okinawans have become conscious of Christmas.[6]

[797] 6 I was told that in certain villages of the northern district, such as Kushi and Higashi near Ogimi that there is a Christmas festival, without the gift exchange, a survival of earlier missionary teaching. Tim did not permit me to verify this, but there seems little doubt that a Christmas festival does exist in some Okinawan villages, judging by the frequency with which I heard of it in Matsuda and Ginoza villages.

Near the end of the lunar year, Matsuda gives a party (*keirokai*) for all persons over 70 years of age. In 1951, the party began in the middle afternoon and ended at dusk. In the early or speech making phase, the mayor, introduced by the village headman, congratulated the old people on attaining their age. The headman, bowing low before the elders, then thanked the mayor. The primary school principal told them how American old people were able to drive automobiles, basing his remarks on a Japanese magazine article, and needlessly told his elders how to live a long life. His audience was much amused at the talents of the American old people. The men and women sat separately. A few children accompanied the old ladies. This is also an occasion for giving children born during the year a little money. After the speeches, both the old men and women drank *sake* in liberal quantities. The dances of the old were done with grace and agility. This custom is followed in the Gushichan area and may be widespread in Okinawa, though the dates for the occasions may vary.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

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1 Community Recreation

2 Obtaining News of a Larger World

3 Village Co-operation

4 Village Leadership

5 Community Organisations

6 The Democratic Government of the Township and Village

1

Community Recreation

Were it not for the public holidays and festivals, the family 529
celebrations and informal social gatherings, opportunities for
recreation would be very limited. Seeing a Japanese motion picture
usually involves going to another village. Young people, especially [368]
those studying English, go to American movies in Naha when they can [177]
afford it. Many went to see Hamlet when it played there.

A Naha troupe presents plays in the rural villages. These ap- 545
pearances are advertised by a sound truck travelling throughout the
countryside. Plays are of two main types: the historical drama and 536
those of domestic life and manners. The historical plays are usually
based on the heroic age in Okinawa, and are so filled with episodes
and sword play that it is difficult, even for an Okinawan, to follow
the plot. All plays are given in Okinawan.

The plot of a play of manners is of more interest, since it is
concerned with the conflicts of obligations, duties, and personal
desires. One such play, The Chaste Woman and the Dutiful Son, con-
cerns a married couple who have one son. The husband drank too much and
went with another woman. The wife objected, the husband tells her he no
longer wants her and desires a divorce. The divorce attained, he takes
the other woman as a second wife and moves with her to Nago, where he
lives. Twenty years after, the second wife becomes ill, and dies, and
the husband finds it increasingly difficult to earn a livelihood. The
first wife, in the meantime, anxious to bring up her child well, has
sent him to school. At the age of 20 he has become a school teacher. [875]
The successful young man--becoming a teacher is a great success--marries.
The young couple have a child and everyone is happy.

The father in Nago earns a precarious living selling firewood. One day he reads of the success of his son in a newspaper. (This provides the actor with an opportunity for exaggerated astonishment and much staggering around). More soberly, the father decides to visit the first wife and their son. Lack of pride and poverty permits him to do this.

The first wife gives him an angry reception. When he has forced his way into the house, there is a loud quarrel. The successful young school teacher returns home, sees the quarrel, and asks his mother the identity of the man. The mother replies that she does not know him. The son inquires the reason for such a violent quarrel between his mother and a stranger. The mother had previously told her son his father had died. She now says she lied, and in the ensuing revelations, the son weeps a little. The father implores his son to intervene in obtaining the forgiveness of his former wife. But she will not forgive--neither will she forget--and does not want the old man around at all. The son

536 reminds his mother that he is a school teacher, that if he does not permit his father to enter the house, he can no longer teach school. The mother yields; the son and his wife bring their child to the new found grandfather, and the play closes with the overjoyed grandfather fondling and holding the child in his arms.

In the play, the conflict is resolved by a balancing of obligation
with pride. A real father would have been so ashamed that he would
[829] never have returned, but then there would have been no play. Only a
poor, lonely shameless and crafty fellow would have come back. But
once he was back, the son had no alternative but to accept and honor
him. The woman's power in the house and her devotion to her son are
demonstrated, but she too must yield to the obligation of her son's
filial piety, though she does this only after a determined and dignified resistance.

545 Plays on the rural circuit start about 9 and end about 11 in the
evening. The entertainment generally consists of an opening traditional
dance by a woman, followed by a comedy skit, and a longer play, such as
the one just described. Comedy skits usually depend on clumsiness or
536 obtuseness as the sources of their humor. One skit, for example, involved a thief entering a house at night. Clumsy and unsure of his
way, he stumbled over everything, made loud noises, and was constantly
in fright to see if some fresh stumble had awakened the house. Finally
he manages to hide under a table, near which the members of the family
are seated discussing a problem. His discovery, due to further awkward
motions and noises, the chase, and his final apprehension close the skit.

545 Rural audiences are critical. Some actors cause laughter because their Okinawan pronunciation is considered poor, and the laughter often carries over to the serious parts. Delays between the acts are met with impatience, and there is some prompting from the audience. The admission is Y20 for adults and Y10 for children. The audience sits on the ground. These plays do not attract a large crowd unless the offering is a well liked play.

526 Sports and athletic meets are favorite recreations both for participants and observers. The sports mentioned by travellers 50 or 60 years ago, such as horse racing, boat racing, tugs of war, archery, and boxing have given way to a more organized athletic activity, inspired by the Japanese example. Only the boat racing and the rope tug of war have survived in these villages. Minatogawa's boat race each year attracts villagers from miles around. All villages, at various times of the year, have a rope tug of war. The annual athletic meets, which will be discussed under education, were introduced into Okinawa about 50 or 60 years ago.

2

Obtaining News of a Larger World

203 While it is an error to think of villages as isolated social and economic units, it would be a mistake also to fail to mention the existing obstacles to communication and the dissemination of news.

207 There are virtually no radio sets in any of these villages, except in the schools and sometimes in a village office. Home radio sets invariably need repairs. In Hanashiro, which has no electricity, there were 3 radios, two of which did not work. There were 4 in Minatogawa, with one at least not working, and six in Matsuda, three of which were in the primary school, one in the village office. In these villages there is electricity from about 6:30 to 10:30 in the winter and from 7 to 11 PM in the summer. The radio is not an important direct medium for obtaining news. If they can, villagers tune in Japanese stations for news, music, and entertainment. There is a need for simple and cheap means of reaching rural areas by radio.

204 Newspapers are more important media. But in late 1951 and early 1952, there were 5 newspaper subscribers in Hanashiro, one going to the village office where it could be read by all, 14 in Minatogawa, and about 20 in Matsuda, reduced from a previous 40 by an increase in the subscription rate. The barbershop in Matsuda had a newspaper. Schools and the township and village offices subscribe. It is difficult to estimate actual circulation. My own observation is that newspaper reading under these conditions is casual and intermittent, that newspapers are read consistently only by the village officials, school teachers, and the regular subscribers. News from Naha, the other Ryukyu islands, and from international sources is disseminated largely by word of mouth. Local readers make their reading a subject of conversation. There is no lack of interest in broader questions and in international events. The negotiations leading up to the Japanese peace treaty were followed with great interest by many villagers in Matsuda. [203]

Japanese magazines, particularly movie magazines, are popular despite their high cost. They are widely read not only by the young, but by older men and women, including school teachers.

206 Telephones are not a part of home life. There were two privately installed field telephones in Minatogawa, but no private telephones in the other villages. The village office, the post office are equipped with phones.

484 [494] The possibilities of obtaining more direct knowledge of other parts of Okinawa island have increased since the war. One can travel by public transportation from the southern part of the island to the extreme north in a reasonable time and not too uncomfortably. Provincial attitudes still remain. Persons in the southern villages

484 [829] studied remarked on the discomfort of the rustic north. Many people in Matsuda thought the people of the northern district more honest than those of the south. This attitude is partly due to knowledge of crime in Naha. Direct or personal knowledge of other islands of the Ryukyus is exceptional. Few people know more than travelers' tales about Yaeyama, Miyako, or Amami.

562 521 814 Men are better informed about current events than the women. Women do not participate so much in social life, nor do they read so much. Conversations at small gatherings are often on a very serious level. A local antiquarian telling of vanished customs and conditions has a very attentive audience. So has a returned traveler from Japan. These people have a sense of history, curiosity, and respect for knowledge and education.

3

Village Co-operation

621 476 One of the most important things to learn about a culture is the nature of its co-operative endeavor. It is useful knowledge in understanding the transition zone between individual and family living and participation in community activities. In these communities, co-operation involves considering the relation of families resident in the village to one another, to their community organizations, and to local government. These relations are stronger than the tie of an individual to an extended family. The nature and the limitations of co-operation can best be described by pointing to examples from each of the villages.

[614] In Hanashiro, mutual help is mainly found, as one might expect, among close and distant relatives of the same family of families related by marriage, who are living in the village. There are extended family ties, which may involve several villages, but this does not mean that tasks are done co-operatively within the extended family. It is uncommon to go to another village to help a relative with his harvest or his housebuilding--and the distance would increase the unlikelihood. Immediate ties to friends, relatives, and neighbors are stronger than those to the more distant members of the extended family.

[342] Within the village, organized co-operation is not conspicuous. Help is given in the form of labor not in money. There is no accounting on a reciprocity basis. At any harvest time--the rice harvest is usually the most urgent--a relative, neighbor or friend may help one day and receive the same aid on the following day. The whole village does not turn out to help each farmer in turn until the crops are in. This work is done by individuals or by very small groups. Since the nature and the amount of help is known and acknowledged, no bookkeeping is needed or desired. The closest approach to villagewide help to an individual family occurs in housebuilding. All residents of the

village volunteer to help if they have the time; each day a group of 5 or more appear, to be replaced the following day by another group until the house is finished. This type of help is more characteristic of the construction or repair of a simple house with a thatched roof than it is with a more expensive and elaborate house which requires specialists. 621 476 342

No days are specifically set aside for community projects, but these are done through co-operative effort. The amount of time given depends on needs as they arise. The care and maintenance of roads and lanes are the most frequent projects. If a road or lane is needed, the village headman and the council discuss the matter, consult the villagers, and the task is then undertaken. Road and lane maintenance includes cutting weeds and clearing away brush to cut down the danger from snakes. These procedures apply also to the construction and care of community owned buildings, such as the village office and the sugar mill. Hanashiro is small enough so that elaborate plans are not required and the desired ends can be accomplished by casual forms of mutual help. 621 476 [491]

The problems of Minatogawa are different, but the type of co-operation is essentially the same. Because of its situation, typhoon damage is often severe. Cleaning up and repairing after a typhoon is a co-operative enterprise, since there is so much damage to community property such as roads and breakwaters. In the typhoon "Ruth" in 1951, the wind driven waves lashed the breakwater with such violence that the stones were dislodged and scattered over the main road. Repairing typhoon damage is partly a community, partly a family affair. Many of the frailer houses are blown down and must be reconstructed from their foundations. Help in beaching and lashing down boats in anticipation of a typhoon is given by relatives and friends. Road maintenance and construction, village building, the laying of stones around a community water tank or faucet are tasks accomplished by community effort. House-building is done mostly through the co-operation of friends and relatives. There may be visits to Itoman to help members of the extended family there. The ties with Itoman are close. [731] [619]

Matsuda is a larger village whose scattered settlements and community forests have resulted in a more planned community co-operation than exists in the southern villages. Three general forms can be distinguished: (1) officially supervised co-operative work on the roads and in the forests in which every male over school age and the unmarried girls are expected to work a stated number of days in a year. Records are kept of this work. One might regard this as obligatory, but it is more correct to say that it is a universally acknowledged duty requiring no enforcement procedure. (2) Voluntary co-operation in the building of a house, and (3) less formal and more casual help, among relatives and friends in a wide variety of daily tasks, including harvesting, carrying wood, threshing rice, and the like.

In the officially supervised co-operative work, the participating

621 individuals give one day each year to forest maintenance and planting.
Twice during the year one day is given to cleaning up and repairing
476 village roads and paths, to improve village cleanliness, and to reduce
the danger from snakes. These clean-up activities, which take
place in March, April and November, include cutting the grass and
weeds along the roadside, cleaning off accumulated debris, and filling
in ruts, holes, and rough spots.

621 The closest approach to village-wide co-operation in private
undertakings is in housebuilding. Regardless of the financial standing
476 of the owner, whenever a new house is being built, there are volunteer
helpers from the whole village. This is the only area in which this
342 co-operation exists. It does not occur in agriculture or at harvest
times. Each day a different crew helps, but this assistance does not
apply to the more specialized tasks. The skilled work on the larger
[463] new houses requires carpenters, masons, and tile setters. There is
no rigid system of reciprocity nor does a villager keep a record of
the days he has worked for the others and the days due him. Many
who help already have substantial houses themselves and have no need
of reciprocal aid. Following a custom in all the villages, when the
[594] building is finished, the owner gives a housewarming party, with plenty
of sake and food. Both hired and volunteer workers are invited.

476 If we may judge by these villages, the Okinawan is individualistic in his approach to his work. Aside from the work on the roads and in the forests, help in emergencies, and the special case of housebuilding, the circle of mutual help is confined within the family or close associates. In no case, did the co-operation of a whole or a substantial part of the village extend to agriculture.

This preceding discussion does not exhaust the field of cooperative endeavor. The co-operative associations and mutual loan groups have already been discussed. Community organizations and neighborhood associations will be considered in Section 5. But these are either more restricted in membership or have a more planned organisational character.

571 In closing this discussion, a further point should be made to avoid misunderstanding. The farmer, fisherman, or stonecutter, the worker in the forest approaches his task as an individual. But group consultation and the sharing of responsibility in other activities is a positive characteristic of the culture. The principle of prior discussion, arriving at a decision acceptable to the group, is a conspicuous part of family life and is implicit in the family system. The same attitude appears in group and community organizations, and in the conduct, as we shall see, of village government.

4

Village Leadership

565
[727] The recent war brought about a levelling in village life. Before

the war, the upper stratum of society consisted of Japanese plus a few highly placed Okinawans. With the departure of the Japanese, there was no well developed class structure among the Okinawans to succeed to the Japanese hierarchy. Today in these villages, there are inequalities in economic well-being, and certain individuals or groups have greater prestige than others. But these, I am convinced, are not to be traced to a class structure. Any division of the village into upper, middle, and lower classes would be artificial and would put a strain on the facts. Differences, where they appear, are the result of individual qualities, such as age, the possession of land or money, or personal character. 565 [563] [511] [554] [554)

In the old Loochooan kingdom, there was a rigid class stratification based on the Chinese model. The Japanese abolished the Loochoo nobility after the islands became a province, but, according to Furness (1899), "the people still cling to the old custom."[1] Despite the abolition of the nobility, distinctions between noble and commoner were made up to the recent war. In the family registers, descendants of the Loochooan nobility (*shizoku*) were so designated. But all villagers agreed that these distinctions had no meaning or value, either for preferment in the Japanese service, or for one's social standing among his countrymen. For all practical purposes, everyone was a commoner. Since the war, the fact that one is a descendant of the Okinawan nobility is, if possible, even more inconsequential. No notation is made in the family register. Most men over 35 can tell instantly whether a given surname is of noble or common origin. 175 565 183 565

The number of these descendants of nobles must be very great. Chamberlain in 1895 reproduced a table, which he said he had every reason to believe was accurate, showing an absurdly high proportion of nobles to commoners. These statistics were from the census of 1891 and for the entire Ryukyus:[2] 565 162

	Household Heads	Families
Princes	2	35
Nobility and Gentry	22,567	95,082
Common People	57,981	235,213
Total	80,550	330,330

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[1] Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 7. For rank distinctions based on caps, stockings, sashes, and hair pins, see Simon, as cited, 155, 156-59. Hawk's Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. I, 224, Vol. II, 48. Basil Hall also gives rank orders in an appendix. Perry considered government by this nobility very oppressive. The CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands gives the historical background of the class structure and its manifestations in government.

[2] In the article cited from the Geo. jour. 5 (1895), 298.

565 553 A common device among noble families was to vary the second character of the Chinese compound which made up the given name. This custom still remains, but has no significance beyond individual family pride. The following case illustrates this naming device:

Relation to Present Head of House	Given Name
Grandfather	Chohyo
Father	Chokan
Present Head	Choyo
First Son	Choko
Second Son	Choshin
Third Son	Chokeii
Fourth Son	Chosei

554 Before the war, the village hierarchy consisted of the headman and retired elders and officials, the school principal and teachers if resident there, the well-to-do farmer, followed by the ordinary farmers or fishermen.[3] These distinctions are now blurred and have been affected by other changes. The school principal and the school teacher retain their prestige, but they have lost their relatively high economic status. Their clothing and the appearance of their homes are indistinguishable from those of a farmer. The ordinary farmer who works his field during the day and whose wife raises the pigs is in a better economic position. The same applies to village and township officials. Many distinctions based on wealth have disappeared because of the destruction and general [556] impoverishment of the war. Neither are distinctions possible in dress, for everyone wears makeshift clothing. Post-war circumstances have put the old at a disadvantage in dealing with new situations. Present day village life is fluid. The war and its aftermath have blurred many of the former distinctions based on age, occupation, or wealth.

621 208 Village leadership is based on individual qualities, but is limited by group opinion which all individuals respect. Decisions of any character, personal, familial, or political, emerge from consultation and discussion. One constantly hears the word sōdan, meaning a discussion or a consultation, with reference to decision making.

555 212 What types of individuals assume leadership in village affairs? First, leadership comes from a group that is literate. This limits the people available for responsible positions. Occupations such as the

[461] [565] [963] [3] According to old residents in Matsuda, there were in their youth, classes whose occupation made them inferior. Examples were bell ringers ringers at funerals and pig killers. Pig killing is still considered a low occupation, but this has no relevance to village life, for no commercial slaughtering is done in the villages. In the villages, there is no suggestion of the existence of groups looked down upon because of their occupation, with the possible exception of a collector of night soil—and this occupation is infrequent.

conduct of a local business of any size, employment in official and 555
semi-official organizations, and teaching require facility in reading 212
and writing Japanese, that is, the use of the Chinese character and
the two Japanese syllabaries, *katakana* and *hiragana*. It is true
that under the Japanese and the present system of education, everyone [872]
learns the characters. But after school is left behind, there must
be continued practice in reading and writing, or one's fund of
knowledge gradually disappears and he remembers only a few of the
simpler or more common characters. For responsible leadership, this
school vocabulary must at least be maintained. A village headman [622]
today must hold his own in reading and writing. Reports have to be
made to the township office. The frequent conferences and meetings
require note taking. Storm warnings may be received, correspondence
and simple record keeping are continual tasks. In one village, the
criticism made of the headman was that his knowledge of characters
was too elementary.

If a person has leisure, this makes him available for positions of 556
leadership. A poor farmer could not ordinarily accept the position 622
of village headman except at a great sacrifice. Public duties, even
in a small village like Hanashiro, require that a headman be on call
most of the time for meetings, or to hear personal problems and complaints of the villagers. It is significant that the former village
headman of Hanashiro and the current headman of Matsuda both are
operators of rice mills and do not have the exacting dawn to dusk
duties of a farmer. In Hanashiro and Nagamo, the present headmen
are operating farmers who are able to combine their private and public
duties, but both places are small. The headman of Minatogawa, a
fisherman, has had to forego many fishing trips because his duties
kept him in the village.

Leadership is also assumed by those who have had foreign experience, 554
either in the Japanese administrative hierarchy abroad or simply through
foreign residence. These people generally have a broader point of view 484
and know more.

The last factor is age. It is often thought that village life in 554
Oriental countries under the family system is dominated by the older
and respected males. It is true that the opinion of retired elders is 561
sought for and respected, but not merely because of age. In addition,
there may be a life of successful farming, teaching, office holding,
possibly a combination of these, behind them. Leadership comes from
young men too, usually the result of experience in the young men's
association. Energetic leadership, often accompanied by organisational
ability, is noticeable in the age group from about 24 to 27. Women [562]
have fewer opportunities but can show their abilities in their work in
the Women's Association.

Village leadership rests both on the respected elders and the 554
promising young men, on those who have kept and increased their skill
in language, who have occupations that relieve them from the unremitting

554 labor of agriculture or fishing, or those, finally, whose life includes travel and foreign residence. Some of these are old, some new. The ideas coming from the repatriates are new. The influence of the young men is also to some extent a response to new conditions and to new ways of looking at things, which they, more adaptable than their elders, are in a better position to understand.

5

Community Organizations

575 [190] [571] Community organizations fill in the gaps between family life and the formal mechanics of village government. Though Japanese imports, they also fit in the culture, which, like Japan, is accustomed to doing things in groups. The most important of these organizations are the Women's Association, Young Men's Association, Young Women's Association, volunteer fire brigades, and the neighborhood associations.

The Women's Association (Fujinkai). The Women's Association, an island wide organization with subordinate township and village branches, is primarily an organization of married women, but unmarried young women, too old for the youth organizations, and widows may belong. The village head of the association is elected, generally for one year, by the membership.

The interests and activities of the membership are an indication of the problems of village life as seen by the women. There may be, as in Hanashiro, house to house inspections with advice on how to improve sanitary conditions, making clothes, or teaching better ways to cook food, improving the dirty and smoky Okinawan kitchen to eliminate eye irritations (a common complaint), attempts to induce people to spend less money on holidays and to spread their luxury and meat buying throughout the year. They might discuss the custom of squatting on the floor and its possible effects on bodily health and stature, or the desirability of replacing the heavy blankets on the floor with western style beds, or individual family problems, such as the family with all daughters, or girls without husbands. The trouble is that the conditions which the women as members of an organization are trying to improve are the very ones which, as wives, they are unable to correct. As a consequence, many of the plans do not go beyond the discussion stage, not because the women lack the will, but because the cumulative problems are overpowering. These groups however have positive accomplishments. They are influential in maintaining existing standards. They are trying with some success to eradicate the scabby sores that cover the faces, hands, and arms of infants and young children.

The Young Men's Associations (seinendan) fill in the gap between school and marriage when the adult male really takes his place in the village community. They are a training ground for working with others and for demonstrating leadership. Like the Japanese originals, the organization is for young men between 17 and 25. Their specific activities

vary according to the problems and conditions in a village. The 575
first meeting of the year is usually held around Jan. 2, when there
is a party. The young men, even those of 17 drink sake at this time.
Young women, who do not drink, contribute gifts of candy and soft
drinks.

In Hanashiro, the young men cultivate a field of their own and
sell the produce. They maintain a carp pond. (Before the war, there
were two such ponds). They also work out for wages. Every morning
rotating groups work for two hours either in the association's field
or for wages. This is done before the daily work. Their earnings of Y8 [465]
an hour, low by Okinawan standards, are accumulated for special projects,
such as the annual athletic meet. Occasionally they help with road
maintenance, though this is a job for all the people of the village.
The carp in the pond are sold to the villagers, normally in July, for [825]
medicinal purposes. [278]

In Minatogawa, the young men's and the young women's association are combined. The head is a young man, the second in charge a young woman. They help in times of emergency and with repairing of typhoon damage. Since there are no fields or carp ponds, they are not so active as the young men of the agricultural villages. Sometimes they do night guard duty around the village, though this practice now has fallen into disuse.

In Matsuda, the association performs tasks similar to those in
Hanashiro. Rotating groups, arising at 4 in the morning, do two or
three hours work before starting their own. Absentees are fined Y20
and tardy members Y5. The young men grow sugar cane on land loaned
free of charge by farmers. The purpose of the project is to increase [249]
sugar cane production by providing transplants. The Matsuda group
also works in the forests, for which they receive Y100 per day per person.
With the permission of the village headman, they get firewood from the
forests, sell it to provide funds for their projects. They stand by
during typhoons. But they also have discontinued the custom of providing
a 3 or 4 member patrol to walk around the village in the early morning
hours. Since thievery is uncommon, the patrolling is no longer required.
When the village gong sounds a fire alarm, all the young men assemble.
At the harvest festivals, such as the autumnal equinoctial holiday, the
young men may present a play, do Okinawan dances, and supply the motive
power for the village lion.

The leader (danchō) of a young man's association usually is from the older age group. Meetings are held twice a month, normally on the 1st and 15th. The annual parties are either at the beginning or the end of the year. In all the villages, the young men's associations have a leading part in the annual athletic meetings. Most of their accumulated funds are expended at this time. They not only participate, but do much of the preparatory work in co-operation with the school teachers.

One result of membership in the young men's associations is that the age range (an 8 year span) of one's acquaintance is broadened.

575 [572] Friendships formed here and in school are the basis of later lifelong associations.

Young Women's Associations (joshiseinen) are not so well developed. Hanashiro has none. In Minatogawa the young men's and the young women's groups are combined. Matsuda has a separate organization of girls from 17 to 23. The latter age is considered the probable date of marriage, when the young woman will enter the Women's Association. Their duties parallel those of the young men: village maintenance, selling firewood, planting sugar cane, taking part in harvest ceremonies and participating with the young men in the New Year's party.

[368] In the villages, a volunteer organization is responsible for fire fighting. The fire brigades (sobodan) usually are under the direction of the young men's association. The village gong is sounded, the volunteers assemble, and the fire is put out by using a bucket brigade.

[177] Parent Teacher Associations, after the American model, have been formed in the rural area, but it is too early to form a judgment of their effectiveness.

575 621 There are also the neighborhood associations. A village is divided into areas or zones (han), each with its own head (hanchō). Neighborhood groups had existed before the introduction of the Japanese neighborhood association (tonari gumi) in about 1935 or 1936. These older groups (kumi) had from 30 to 70 families, each with a head (kumichō). These groups often assisted in a family crisis, with housebuilding, or furnished pallbearers for a funeral.

Before and during the war, the Japanese used the neighborhood associations in their rationing, food distribution, civil defense, and other programs.

[632] The neighborhood associations remained after the war, but they are now known as hans. The leader of each neighborhood group is a link in the chain of communication from the township office to the individual villager. The township mayor transmits a new regulation or a directive from a higher governmental authority to each village headman who informs the heads of each of the neighborhood groups, who can then tell the people living in his area. The people within a neighborhood group may also co-operate with one another in housebuilding. The young men may be pallbearers for a deceased resident of the neighborhood. The group head also informs the people of village meetings (jōkai). These heads may be elected, but usually they serve by rotation (kotai), with a change every three months. In Matsuda, the group head is selected for one year and household heads service under him for one month in rotation to perform stand-by (tōban suru, to be on duty) duties and help the neighborhood head in his work.

HANS 575 621

Hanashiro	5
Minatogawa	9
Matsuda	16

6

The Democratic Government of the Township and Village

The description of local government has intentionally been delayed to this point because its operation and functions can be seen to greater advantage after an acquaintance with family life and the various forms of group activity. We can see it, not so much a formal structure to be described in legalistic terms, but as an expression of many of the characteristics of the culture we have already found in the family system, group activity, and individual leadership. 128

Okinawa and the various smaller islands of the Central Ryukyus (*Okinawa-gunto*) is one of the four main political subdivisions of the chain. The *gunto* is divided into townships, and within each township, there are several settlements (*buraku*, *ku*, *aza*) which we have consistently called villages. Township government is the channel for the enforcement of laws and regulations from higher governmental agencies and the source of local measures which govern the several villages of the township. 631

The seat of the township government is one of the villages of the township.[4] In Gushichan township, the village office (*yakuba*) is at Gushichan village, while in Ginosa township, the office is in Ginosa village. 632

At the head of this government is a mayor (*sonchō*) elected for a four year term. There is no strenuous campaigning for the office. Friends may induce a well known man to run, then visit the villages, and ask the people to vote for him. A reputation for being kind, fair, and refined (*otonashii*) goes far in electing a man. Once in office he is extremely busy, and like the village headman, usually looks forward to the end of his term rather than to re-election. A new mayor appoints his own or reappoints the old staff. He chooses a vice-mayor (*joyaku*) with the approval of the village assembly (*gikai*). 632 622 [666] [577]

A township office generally has the following administrative sections: (1) a treasury and disbursing office (*shūnyūyaku*), (2) a general affairs (*shomu*) sections. The head of this section is in charge of the family registers (*koseki*) and of the registry of seals. These two important functions require a little elaboration. 632

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[4] The government actually described here is that of Gushichan township. It did not seem worthwhile to repeat essentially the same information for Ginosa and then to make minute comparisons and contrasts between them.

217 592 The family register is a basic official document recording officially all the family data for each household. These have been compiled since the war. The old registers which gave the family history in great and accurate detail were destroyed as a consequence of the war or intentionally by the Japanese. The standard form for the register contains (1) the place of permanent domicile of the family head (*honseki*), (2) the place of present residence (*genjūshō*), (3) the name of the previous head of the family (*senkonushi*), (4) the head of the family (*koshu*), his birthdate, and his relationship to the preceding head, (5) the name of the father and mother of the present head, (6) the name of the wife, her birthdate, whether she is a first or succeeding daughter, the names of her parents, (7) the date of the marriage, (8) names of each family member with birthdate and relationship to the head. All matters pertaining to the family are recorded in one place. The register contains information about births, deaths, marriages, and additions, deletions, or notations as to foreign residence. If a second son establishes a branch family, a line is drawn through his name on the register and a notation refers to a new sheet set up for his family. Deaths are shown by drawing a red line through the name.

217 213 The registry of seals (*inkanbō*) is a list of the seals of everyone in the township. The individual stamps his seal in the registry himself. The registry shows the date on which the seal is registered, the present address, permanent address, and the name and birthdate of its owner. Seals (*han*) are used whenever a signature would be required here. When used they are pressed into an India ink paste and stamped on the document requiring the seal.

632 Following general affairs, there is (3) the tax collection (*zaisei*) (4) school affairs (*kōmu*), (5) a section devoted to agriculture, industry, fishing, or other important occupations in the township (*sangyō*), (6) health and sanitation (*eisei*) concerned with community sanitation, health and vital statistics, and (7) a relief and welfare section (*shakaijigyō*) which administers relief to the indigent.

[423] The village office also issues to each landowner a certificate of ownership (*shoyūkenshōmeisho*) with the seal of the mayor for each parcel a villager owns. These sheets, a separate one for each parcel, are bound up in a small book.

[622] The mayor and his staff hear complaints from individual taxpayers regarding assessments, the amount of the tax, or the classification of land. The atmosphere of a township office is friendly and informal. Callers bow on entering. The mayor is readily accessible. (In my experience, mayors and headmen are very high types of individuals). Most members of the staff bring their own lunches. Each office has a young girl or boy to serve tea and to watch the fire.

The legislative functions of township government are performed by an assembly (*gikai*), whose members, elected at large, enact ordinances and approve the mayor's appointment of a vice mayor. The mayor, his administrative staff, and the township assembly administer the township.

Their acts are enforced in each of the villages by the headman. 632

The village headman (kuchō) is an intermediary between the people 622 and the township government. He listens to complaints from his people, carries them to the township government for a hearing, and has supervision over official community projects and activities. 622 The headman, like the mayor, is a busy, hardworking man. His pay, insufficient to live on, is midway between a salary and an honorarium. The headman of Hanashiro, for example, received ¥720 per month, Minatogawa ¥950, and Matsuda ¥2000 a month.[5] [465] The headman usually has a paid clerk (shoki) who works full time and may receive more pay than the headman. The clerk compiles reports of the village population, assists the headman at meetings, and is a general administrative assistant. [624]

The village headman is elected for a period of one year. There is no campaigning. [666] The election generally is preceded by discussions among the heads of households, village elders, the young men's association and the women's association. These discussions reveal the candidates who are able to do the work and have the leisure and the money to undertake the responsibility.

A village headman usually leads a harried life. Most of them regard their term as a duty to be discharged rather than a beginning of a career in office holding. A former village headman of Hanashiro said that, in addition to the formal meetings he attended at the township office, he had to visit the village office at least 15 times a month on some village problem, such as taxes, health and sanitation, or individual complaints. The village headman of Minatogawa had a constant succession of problems: reports on overdue fishermen, getting water pipe lines from the mountains to the water tank repaired, taking charge of typhoon damage repair, and trying to have small improvements made in the village. The headman is caught between the township officials who need tax money and the villagers who complain that they have so little money with which to pay them. In Matsuda, there was the same multiplication of problems involving taxes, need for extra school supplies or repairs, and road maintenance. [651]

Village headmen belong to no special age group. In one township, they ranged in age from 30 to 52. Age is not a decisive factor in their selection, but reputation, literacy, and friendliness are. Though there is a change in administration each year, the incumbent headman stays on one month after the close of his term until the new one has become accustomed to his duties. In some villages, the clerk is elected at the same time as the village headman. [624]

The village headman does not have, nor does he desire, complete responsibility for administering the village. 623 Two groups are available for advice. The headman will not make decisions on important non-routine matters without consulting them. The first of these, the village council

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[5] For comparative purposes, the minimum wage for young Okinawan girls employed as maids for US personnel was about ¥100 ($9.17) per month. [465]

623 (hyōgiin) is an elected body, while the other, composed of village
elders and public spirited men (yūshi) is a more honorary group.
Sometimes the council is composed of one man from each neighborhood
association. The elders are an unofficial body which because of its
prestige is consulted when the headman and the council have an emergency
problem and wish to get the advice of the respected men of the village.
[554] This group is composed of former village headmen, former members of the
village council, and well-known residents, such as retired school teachers
or farmers.

The village council, composed of about 10 men, is elected from the male heads of a household. Before the war, members were older men, but they now include young men as well. The council advises the headman on matters for which he is reluctant to assume full responsibility. If the decision is important enough, the village assembly, composed of all the heads of families over 18 years of age, is consulted. A headman may use the village council to help in defending himself against unpopular decisions. The village headman and the council generally make the final decision on village matters, but any decision involving the expenditure of money is referred to the assembly of household heads.

621 Village government is democratic. The people know their elected
leaders personally. The problems with which the people and their
623 officials are concerned are concrete, and seldom matters of abstract
principle. They usually are concerned with local improvements, taxation,
622 and schooling. The people participate in local government through the
village assembly, at which they elect the headman and the council members.
They can criticize and question decisions and approve proposals for
spending money.

A headman can conceal neither his strong points nor his faults. Village government utilizes the principle of group responsibility without sacrificing the principle of individual leadership and a strong respected headman can do much to prevent the formation of cliques within a village. This does not mean that individual antagonisms and differences of opinion do not exist, but they seem to be resolved before they reach the stage of organized opposition.

Village government is not an extension of the family system. The village headman is not the head of one large family. But there is individual leadership, consultation and discussion, and mutual agreement both in the family system and in village government. Family experience has both a private and a public character. The public influences of family life takes the form of tempering the formality and mechanics of government.

621 A village is composed of single families. Many have intermarried.
All of these families have a certain relationship to one another. They
571 may be friends; they may live in the same neighborhood. Their children
are known to one another as classmates, later as members of youth
organizations. The families may have other associations, based on a
common economic interest in agriculture, fishing, or pig raising. They

have traditional, though restricted, forms of village co-operation. 621
This meshing in of activities, either among families or groups, when
combined with individual leadership brings about a situation in the 571
village which is comparable with the experiences in the family system.

These individual and family relationships which are the real con- 632
tent of village administration are also felt, though in a diluted form,
in the township government. The influence of inter-village marriage, 628
of the school whose pupils come from several villages, and of the annual 571
athletic meets make for informality and elastic government. Township
officials generally are drawn from each of the villages which make up
a township. These elements provide both in village and township life a
feeling of participation and a sense of belonging, already so strongly
developed within the family system.

CHAPTER XIX

EDUCATION AND THE VILLAGE

000

1 Introduction

2 Courses of Study

3 Schools and the Teacher

4 Leaning English

5 Home, School, and Village

1

Introduction

The modern history of Okinawan education falls into three periods, which correspond with the cultural influences of three different nations: (1) the traditional education borrowed from China, (2) the Japanese system of education, and (3) the introduction of American concepts of education following the war.[1]

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The Chinese influences ended in the latter part of the 19th century. Education was confined to the upper classes. "Aping China in everything, Lew Chew has also its three yearly examinations, which, for the time being, make quite a stir in the learned world, but hold out no prospect for high station, as in China. At most, the fortunate candidate gets, beside a good fill of honor, a rice pension or a schoolmastership."[2]

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The new Japanese education also introduced western ideas into Okinawa through a Japanese sieve. The Meiji *Rescript on Education* (1890) codified the principles of this new pedagogy. It was a method of inducing conformity to the ideals of the new Japan. The most important point was that education became a mass program.[3] This new education, according to Chamberlain (1895), took hold gradually.

Before the war there were two policies in public education. Up to 1940, primary school (*shōgakko*) was an eight year course. In addition to the usual studies, the curriculum from grades one through six emphasized duties and obligations (*gimu*) to one's parents, relatives, friends, and to the emperor. The national school (*kokumingakko*) system, which lasted until the end of the war, replaced the old primary school. Instruction in duties and obligations extended over eight years with intensified emphasis on nationalism and emperor worship.

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[1] Education is a large, complex, and technical subject. Time did not permit spending a large amount of time in classrooms. My purpose here is to show how education is related to village and family life and to explain the general nature of the problems as I observed them.

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[2] Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 223-24. The words are those of Dr. Bettelheim.

[3] The modern school system in Japan dates from 1872. Many of the Okinawan schools seem to have been started in the eighties and nineties. The first school in Okinawa is said to have been started in Shuri in 1798.

2

Courses of Study

872 During 1946 and 1947, primary schools (*shotogakko*) were established along lines of the old primary school, but with the Japanese nationalism and the emperor worship deleted. Beginning about April 1948, a new primary school system with six grades was instituted. Ideas of democracy were introduced to displace the Japanese ideal of the state.

The subjects (*gakka*) in this new primary school curriculum are: (1) Japanese, referred to as the "mother tongue (*kokugo*) or the "standard language" (*futsu no go*). This instruction includes the two Japanese syllabaries, *hiragana* and *katakana* and beginning instruction in Chinese characters (*kanji*). (2) Beginning English, (3) arithmetic and computation on the abacus, (4) a general introductory science course (*rika*), (5) an introductory social science course (*shakkaika*), including geography (*chiri*), history (*rekishi*), political science (*seiji*), and economics (*keizai*). The old ethics, duties, and obligations courses have been absorbed into the new social science course which also includes duties and obligations to one's family, friends, and associates, and the need for international friendship. During primary school, the subjects remain essentially the same with each year's courses increasing in difficulty.

In 1948, the three year junior high school (*chūtogakko*) was started. Two years were taken off the old primary course and one year added. In junior high school, some of the subjects become more specialized. Instruction in literature (*hungaku*) replaces the formal grammar of primary school. This course, which formerly emphasized Japanese literature, now includes selections from English, American, and world literature. A course in Ryukyuan history, hitherto untaught in the schools, has been added. All teaching is conducted in Japanese. There is no instruction in the Okinawan language, though it is still the language of the pre- [191] school child and of social life and daily talk. In adult speech, there is an effortless switch from the one language to the other. Instruction in English 5 or 6 hours a week continues.

The present junior high school curriculum includes literature, social science, English, Okinawan history (in the 3rd year), algebra and geometry combined, music, general science, manual training, drawing, agriculture for the boys, and domestic science and sewing for the girls. There may be some instruction in carpentry and pottery making. Boys specialize in agriculture, girls in domestic science. Girls however receive some training in agriculture and boys in domestic science, mainly in cooking and mending.

873 There is a break between junior and senior high school (*kōtōgakko*). Entrance in senior high school is by examination, the severity of which seems to be governed by vacancies available. Senior high school is also a greater break from home life. The schools are fewer. In

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In Hanashiro the children take the short walk to primary and junior high school at Oushichan village; for senior high school they go to Chinen, 5 or 6 miles away. Most of them walk. Matsuda has an elementary school with the junior and senior high schools at Ginoza village, about 1 1/2 miles away. In senior high school, there is more specialization. The general science course is divided into physics (butsuri), chemistry (kagaku), and biology (seibutsu). Mathematics is split up into geometry (kika) and algebra (daitsu). There is further instruction in agriculture for the boys, some for the girls. The girls continue with domestic science, including sewing.

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In the secondary schools, vocational education is well represented in the curriculum. The courses are planned as a preparation for the type of work students will do as adults in a village. The instructors seem competent although the subject matter does not include modern advances. There should not, in my opinion, be a further growth in vocational at the expense of general education, except after careful study of long term requirements. The great masses of people will continue to depend on agriculture, forestry, and to some extent on fishing for their existence, and vocational education should be built around a recognition of these facts. It should concentrate on supplying new knowledge related to these main fields.

New technical skills that we desire to develop should be governed by these considerations: (1) the improvement of agriculture, forestry, and fishing. (2) The long range plans of the military and civil administration and the skills they will require. (3) New skills that will be needed with any development of foreign trade or of local industrialization.

Vocational education also should be developed along lines consistent with the type of professional training we are prepared to encourage. If biologists, botanists, agriculturalists, soil scientists, foresters, statisticians, social scientists are being trained, vocational and technical education should also follow along these general lines to create a source both of initial interest and of possible technicians to assist the professional workers. This would also apply to the public health fields, such as nurses' aides, midwives, laboratory technicians.

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[562]
[875]

The distinguishing feature of the new education (shinkyoiku) is the introduction of democratic ideas (minshushugi). The status of girl students and of women teachers has also changed. Before the war, the children were taught in the same room, but the boys and girls were separated. Now there is no segregation. Women teachers' salaries, formerly about 20% less than the mens', are now the same.

3

Schools and the Teacher

358

There is much more to a school day than actual instruction. The

358 children, whether in primary, junior, or senior high school, clean up the grounds and do repair and upkeep work. Young teachers, many [875] of whom are single, supervise the work, and often stay during the evening hours to plan the day's work or to study. Male teachers are night watchmen at the school, sleeping there in rotation.

346 The main problems of education are (1) adequate school buildings. Their condition reflects the haphazard tragedies of war. Schools vary in quality from place to place. The high school at Ginosa and the elementary school at Matsuda, for example, are excellent buildings; in other places, such as Gushichan village, the classroom buildings are little more than shanties with thatched roofs, and a siding of boards, corrugated iron, or other materials at hand. At typhoon times, some [358] of these are flattened, and it is normal to see school children helping to clear the grounds and putting on new thatch. It is my impression [727] generally that conditions are worse in southern Okinawa than in the northern area where war destruction was much less. The Civil Administration is well aware of these problems and the school construction program is, to all appearances, progressing. (2) Much the same situation and for the same reasons, exists with regard to school equipment. Rickety [352] chairs, old benches, bad blackboards contrast with the equipment of the new schools or of the old which escaped destruction.

875 (3) The post-war period has made a difference in the status of the school teacher (sensei). The destruction and disruption of the war, scarcity, high prices and low salaries have made his position in most [727] cases a precarious one. Before the war, the school teacher had prestige and money. Only the prestige remains. One high school principal estimated that the post-war prices have increased 100 times, the teachers' [465] salaries about fifty times. Immediately before the war, the starting salary of a beginning teacher was ¥45 a month. (The value of the pre- [435] war Japanese yen was about US $0.27). A school principal received ¥100 a month. Now the beginning salary for school teachers is about ¥2200 and for principals ¥5000. (The present value of the Okinawan yen is officially pegged at 120 to the dollar). Increases averaging about 30% went into effect in October 1951.

The school teacher has little or no money for clothing; his dress is the same nondescript combination of old civilian and army clothing that one sees on everyone else. This situation, serious in any country, is particularly so in a culture that has always regarded the teacher with such honor. The teaching profession is the source of many careers [555] in public office. Even in casual observation, one frequently finds that mayors, vice-mayors, former members of the Japanese civil service, started life as teachers.

The Okinawan teacher works hard and enthusiastically, but new attitudes are appearing which must be recognized. There is a desire to leave the profession, particularly noticeable in the male teachers under 30. Economic difficulties are reflected in frustration and discouragement. Okinawan school teachers, if the ones I knew are representative, have enthusiasm for ideas of democracy and freedom and for reforms that have been made in their school system, but this enthusiasm would be more permanent if it were based on a solid foundation of economic well-being. 875

Though this may not be representative, teachers in these townships were in two main age groups: those under thirty, and those forty and over. There are few in the 30-40 age group. In one school, 6 teachers were under 30, one a woman was 35, and the principal was over 40. In a group of 15 teachers in the Oushichan school, 7 were 25 or under, one 32, 3 from 32-40, and 5 in the 40 and over group.

The dependence of the Okinawan school teacher on Japanese culture is still strong, and understandably so, since he must rely on Japanese books and magazines for intellectual stimulation and knowledge. Japanese continues to be taught, as indeed it must, if the culture is to function. Those who have studied English do not know it well enough to comprehend discussions involving ideas of any sophistication or complexity. [177]

In these schools, the majority of teachers were young men. Teaching in the primary school is a combination of class and individual recitation. Children are not pressed and are corrected gently, treatment, I was told, which was also true of the pre-war primary school instruction. The improved status of women teachers may attract more to the profession, but now masculine influence is dominant in the schools observed. [876]

It is my impression that Okinawa is in a transition period with regard to the technical qualifications of its teachers and to the improvement of teaching methods. The younger teachers are high school graduates, some with further teacher training. The older ones, who served under the Japanese, seem to have considerable flexibility and to have adapted themselves to the new conditions. There is a fine relationship among teachers and students, with none of the barking, authoritarian approach. Teachers, who in the emergency are working in a grade for which they are not certified, seem anxious to get the proper certificate. Because of the low salaries, the possibilities of turnover among the younger teachers who might take other opportunities should be watched. [876]

From personal experience in attending classes, I would say that teachers are generally competent; they certainly have native intelligence and interest in their work. Teaching methods are conventional, but there is a lot of informal instruction connected with the many outside tasks around a school, performed by teachers and students alike. (One however should not be blind to the disadvantages of teachers and pupils participating in so much outdoor maintenance work). 876

4

Learning English

The desire to study and to learn English is practically universal. This respect for knowledge frequently is not matched by a realization 191 555

191 555 of the difficulties involved. Ambition is directed toward practical ends, such as a business or government clerkship or becoming a teacher.

It is probably too early to judge the effects of post-war in- 876 struction in English. The question is whether students will acquire 194 working knowledge beyond the stage of conventional expressions and simple constructions. Pronouncing English is difficult for Okinawans, partly because the Oriental tradition in education has been so largely visual rather than oral, partly because students, consciously or unconsciously, convert English sounds into their rough Japanese equivalents, and proceed from there.

In the primary and high schools, English, with few exceptions, is 875 taught by teachers who themselves have learned English from Japanese teachers. They have added to this knowledge, by private study, often [214] far into the night, of the dreadful English-Japanese phrase books, grammars, and other compendia which the Japanese love to publish. English still reaches the student through this Japanese sieve. So many teachers have learned English this way that the ordinary English of a native speaker baffles them, and they are easily thrown off by "intonation." Correction of this will have to be very gradual. The best teacher of English I saw was a young man who had been taught by an older Okinawan teacher who had in turn been taught by an Englishman. These teachers are devoted to their subject. But it is distressing to see them at study: trying to learn the language by mastering the uses of "nothing but," or "in order to," or "so that," or poring over those phrase books with their headings, "At the postoffice," "At the purser's office on the boat," etc., etc. Much of this is due to the fact that [177] until recent times they have had little or no contact with native English speakers. In the rural areas this contact is still rare. A young man in one of the villages, an addict of the phrase books, one afternoon was studying hard to master the courtesies of a newly 876 appointed ambassador calling on the Japanese foreign minister in his garden! He had been studying English for years, and finally one day got a job as a clerk in a military installation. But he was not a clerk; as he told it, he was a clarku. It is undeniable that these students learn an English that can be understood. Many of them would be able to use the language, and improve rapidly, if chosen as exchange students or national leaders. But the misdirected effort and the wasted eyesight are pitiful.

In the primary schools, English is taught in a conventional way. The teacher reads a sentence or a passage. The class reads after him, and the individual pupils recite. Much the same procedure is followed in the high schools, but there is more conversation. This system turns out many who know some English, but are very hesitant about using it, and a few who have some real understanding. The failures should not be emphasized too much; the point is that as soon as possible English should be taught by teachers who have learned the language from native speakers.

This desire to learn English is more than a wish to communicate with Americans. Opportunities are open for those who know English, and people of all ages realize that theoretical and applied science and improved techniques come from the West, and that English is a means of understanding and applying this knowledge. Channelling this desire, through competent instruction in the schools, which will result in efficient self-guidance afterwards, is one of the significant problems of Okinawan education. But the techniques to be used on a permanent basis should be left to the professional linguist. 191 555 177 114

Should for example the methods of Basic English be adopted as a matter of policy and be encouraged in private study? Or should language study be based on the principles set forth by the rapidly advancing field of linguistics? Or should we accept the guidance of doctors of education who are specialists in curriculum construction and language training? My own bias is toward the manuals developed by the linguists, such as Spoken Japanese (EM 561-62). This approach, with its pattern sentences, is based on an analysis of the structure of the language itself. Basic English poses the problem whether the English taught is really basic. In my opinion, the crux of the matter is to study the presuppositions underlying these approaches and not the subject matter they produce. American learned societies, with the co-operation of the Army and the Navy, and the subsequent university programs in language study, have made great strides in these fields, both theoretical and applied. They represent the most advanced thinking in the world on these subjects, and the body of knowledge which they have should be most useful.[4]

5

Home, School, and Village

There are strong bonds between the home, the village, and the school. Parents help their children with their elementary readers. There is homework and classmates may stay at one another's houses over night. Parents are interested in children's school problems, but they do not visit the schools often, except at times arranged by the officials. PTA's have been organised, but it is still too early to tell how successful they will be. Since the PTA, like the Women's Association and the Young Men's Association, fits in the culture, it probably will thrive. 182 876 641 575

On entering school, the child is introduced to a new language which he has not spoken to any extent in childhood. Okinawan is the language of the pre-school child. Beginning school, therefore, is a bigger break than it is with most cultures. 872 191

The schools usually draw on several villages for their student body 871

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[4] It is only fair to say that my own bias in favor of the approach developed by the technical linguists grows out of instruction I received in Japanese in the Army's Civil Affairs Training School Program in 1943-44.

871 572 and the more advanced the school, the truer this is. Friendships are made early with children of nearby villages. Marriage may be the result of early school acquaintance, encouraged by the acceptance of free choice in marriage. A young adult has a scattering of friendships in the villages of his township. These class friendships are strong in school, in the teens, and early twenties. By the late twenties, the circle of friendships has broadened.

182 526 One of the most significant links between the family, village, and school is the annual athletic meet (undōkai). It is held in the fall. Preparations for this event are long and involve almost everybody.[5]

526 [875] [534] About a month before it is held, the meet is the topic of innumerable conversations. School children practice singing and athletic dancing drills at home. School teachers, who do most of the organizational work, practice with painful cacophony on their trumpets and clarinets. On the streets and lanes of Minatogawa, young men from 17 to 23 practice broad jumping late into the night. Shortly before the meet, all normal school activities stop. The teachers paint signs, mimeograph programs, and plan the order of the various events. The school officials have interminable committee meetings.

[262] There is much bustle, laundering, hair washing, and cooking in a village the day before the meet. Special lunches including rice dyed red, bean curd, slices of fish paste, beef or pork are prepared. This field day is the closest approach to a picnic the Okinawans experience.

[576] In good weather, the meet has a large attendance. A reserved area, with school desks and chairs is set aside for special guests. A person entering the reserved section to take his seat bows to the mayor and the group, steps forward a few paces, bows again, and takes his seat.

The mayor of the township presides over the meeting relieved by the vice-mayor or other school or village or township officials. On one day of the autumn meet, the mayor remained seated throughout the morning and afternoon in a drizzling rain. It was his duty, assisted by the principal and the teachers of the school, to give out the prizes.

Relay races, girls' dances, races and dashes for various age groups are endless. At present, the meeting is not confined to school children, but the younger men and women are included as well. The Young Men's Association is very active. Special events are included. In the Women's Association event, there was a mother and child race. In one case, a mother who entered the race with a child on her back and her young son as

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[119] [5] These remarks are based on observations in Minatogawa, Oushichan, and Hanashiro villages, and on attendance at the Oushichan meet in November 1951. From discussions, I am certain they are very similar in Matsuda, in fact all over the island.

a running mate was vigorously applauded. The infant on her back was sleeping! 526

Four teams, the village officials, the teachers, high school students, and members of the Young Men's Association competed in a relay race. Later the teachers, and the mayor, participated in a rope and loop race. A rope about 20 feet long was tied to a stake driven in the ground. On the other end of the rope was a large loop. The trick is to run from a starting point, put the loop over the head, let it drop down and then step out. In the meantime, the opposing team has been trying to prevent the player from getting the loop by jerking the rope away, or throwing it at a distance. Other comedy events based on groping blindfolded to selected goals or objects were part of the program.

The races produce the greatest excitement, especially in the inter-village competition. A team from each village competes in a relay and runners representing their village participate in various dashes. In these competitive events, the old women become very excited. [628]

On this occasion the township gives a present to all people present who are 70 years old or over. The gift is now a plain towel; formerly the towel was embroidered with characters expressing wishes for a long life, but this practice has been abandoned for reasons of economy. [431]

The prizes, presented by the mayor to the contestants, are modest and generously given. The young men get four cigarettes, the women a paper of tooth powder, and the children, small school notebooks. The prize winners line up; each one steps up, makes a bow, receives his prize, lifts it up slightly, a typical Okinawan gesture of thanks noted by Basil Hall in 1816, bows again and retires. [576]

Though it centers around the school, the athletic meet is one of the strong forces bringing both families and village communities together. It would be hard to exaggerate the interest in the meet or the work that goes into its preparation. The fact that the mayor of the township, his staff, the village headmen, the principals of high schools, every parent and all the children who could possibly come, were present is enough to show its importance and vitality. 526 182

CHAPTER XX

RELIGION

600

1 Introduction

2 Contemporary Religious Belief

3 Buddhism

4 Ancestor Worship

5 Survivals of the Priestess (Noro) System

6 Gods of the Fire, Wells, and Sacred Groves

7 Other Religious Observances

1

Introduction

771 128

The study of religious ideas in Okinawa quickly involves one in a quagmire of beliefs, formal observances, and conventions, of various origins, often grafted on one another, so that it is almost impossible to disentangle them. There is a vagueness among the people, a lack of distinctions among various types of belief, and this makes the analysis even more uncertain and subject to error. When after death, for example, does the deceased become a god (hotoke-sama) in the Buddhist pantheon? At the end of the 49th day when the temporary white tablets are burned and replaced by the permanent red ones? Or at the end of the 33rd year when the dead person is no longer mourned, and the anniversary of his death no longer observed? And is he regarded as a god in the Buddhist pantheon or simply as a god? I was unable to find satisfactory answers to these questions.

Religious beliefs, such as ancestor worship, are closely related to the underlying ideas of the family system. Praying to the ancestors at the god shelf ties Buddhism in with the family system, but worship at the Buddhist alter and the god shelf would, if accepted at its face value, give an erroneous idea of the vitality of Buddhism and the degree to which it has become a religion of the people.

The student of these matters must also make certain that this vagueness and mixing of religious belief is an actuality and does not arise out of faulty comprehension. I became convinced, however, that the vagueness, the compounding of beliefs from different sources, the uncertainty are realities, and this point of view was later reinforced in reading the works of students of an earlier age.

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There is a noticeably sharp cleavage in belief between the old and the young, with the dividing line around the age of 55. Furthermore, among the old, it is the women who believe and worship. The old men are much less serious, and, except for the few antiquarians, are much more poorly informed.

2

Contemporary Religious Beliefs

771 [773] [793] [562]

The religious tradition of Okinawa is a feminine one. Women appear in the creation myth as the practitioners of religion. The priestess (noro) system became an institutionalized religion in the early 16th century. From that time until the very recent past, the priestesses have been strong and influential because, for one thing, they had property and the economic power that accompanied its possession. These priestesses have now largely disappeared. But women remain the chief repositories of religious knowledge and belief.

771 Buddhism, as an organized religion, is of no importance, even though most villagers say they are Buddhists. Buddhist symbols and practices inspired by Buddhism remain, but that is a different matter. [183] The universal use of the Buddhist god shelf or household altar, the observance of Buddhist holidays, such as higan, are matters more of custom and tradition than of religious fervor. This is significant be- [177] cause the Okinawans, for almost 70 years, were a part of the Japanese homeland, the greatest Buddhist nation on earth. During my stay in Okinawa, I thought that the recent war had caused the decline in Buddhist influence. This is only partly true. Subsequent reading of the older [178] literature made it clear that in modern times, Buddhism has not been a living force. The ethical and political systems were primarily Confucian. The priestesses had a greater influence on daily life and at death ceremonials, at least in rural Okinawa.

A variety of practices concerned with the worship of natural phenomena, such as the summits of mountains, groves of trees, wells and springs and the sea survive, but they are not strong.

There is little evidence of Shinto beliefs, except in a few [177] families who were long resident in Japan. Shrine Shinto, closely tied in with emperor worship, has been abolished.

177 Villagers are acquainted with Christianity, but I encountered no adherents. The name of the 19th century missionary, Dr. Bettelheim, 797 is still remembered by people in Minatogawa and Hanashiro. Dr. Bettelheim, a Jewish convert to Christianity, came to Okinawa in 1846. He was both ineffective and unhappy, but his ineffectiveness was probably due more to the lack of enthusiasm of the Okinawan rulers than to personal inadequacy.

3

Buddhism

771 183 114 Buddhist formalisms and home observances exist in all the villages. But the religion is not practiced. The people do not attend services or temples, nor do they support or seek out priests. This present situation is apparently little changed from the recent past. Captain Basil Hall (1816) mentioned the apparent low status of the bonse. Charles Fahs, on Perry's staff, said that, "The people, however, appear to be indifferent to it, and do not seem to have much veneration for it. Basil Hall Chamberlain wrote in 1893 that Buddhist influence was almost extinct. In 1910, Simon spoke of the weakness of Buddhism and that priests often did not participate in funerals. Goldschmidt in 1927 made similar observations.[1]

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[1] Hall, as cited, 98-99; Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 49. Chamberlain, On the manners and customs of the Loochooans, In: Trans. of the Asiatic society of Japan, 21 (1893), 274. Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 103-04, 177. Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, 145.

The only Buddhist priest in the areas studied was at the small 793
village of Maegawa, within walking distance of Minatogawa and Hanashiro.
He was a priest of the Jōdo sect (Jōdoshu), one of the important sects [795]
of Japan, and stressing salvation by faith. The sect of the priest in
this village is of no importance, since the rural people now or before
the war had neither the interest nor the capacity for doctrinal distinctions.
The temples of this sect were burned during the war, including one in the 346
village of Kochinda, a junction point between Naha and Oushichan. 727

Before the war the colors of the robes varied with the sect and with
the position of the priest in the hierarchy. In the Jōdo sect, the 793
lowest grade wore black, followed up the scale by orange, blue or green,
a chocolate reddish brown, and purple, the highest. This contrasts 795
sharply with the priest's present improvisations. His is the black robe
of the Shinshu sect. It is a summer garment, made of soft light silk 292
called shiya and resembles a man's kimono, but is longer and sweeps the
floor. The garment hangs straight down and is not gathered or tucked.
The only other religious possessions were a bell and a badly soiled [778]
print of the Buddha (oshaku) which hung in his room.

Before the war, some people in the Oushichan area requested the 793
services of a priest at funerals. After the war, the people of Hanashiro,
and other villages as well, decided because of the expense, to forego
the services of a priest.

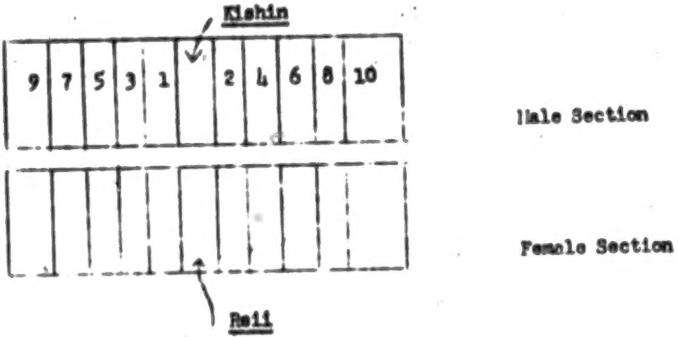
Occasionally this priest officiates when the bones in the temporary
tombs of Minatogawa are moved to the extended family tomb at Itoman,
or in a ceremony honoring a death anniversary. Few Okinawans became [797]
priests. This priest is a native of Japan, one of the few remaining
Japanese priests in the island. At eleven, he entered a Buddhist
temple (tera) and has been engaged in religious activity ever since.
Now about 50, he has a wife and two children; his head is unshaved and
the hair is of a conventional cut. He does not depend on the priesthood
for a living, but is employed as an official in a village office.

The situation with regard to Buddhism was quite similar in Matsuda, 771
although there is no priest in the vicinity. There is little doubt,
if the villages studied are typical, that this already moribund 178
religion is disappearing altogether here, choked off by lack of temples,
lack of priests, and by indifference.

771
It is not so with household Buddhism, if this term may be used to
describe ceremonies and beliefs centering around the Buddhist god shelf 778
or family altar (butsudan). This household altar is in the second room 183
of every home. Around it collect the sentimental memories of the past,
such as family pictures, photographs of young soldiers and dearly loved
relatives. Prayers and offerings of food and drink to the dead are made
before it.

An important part of the Buddhist altar is a frame holding the 778
memorial tablets for the family dead. These tablets (ihai) are pieces 769

778 769 of wood lacquered red and lettered in gold. The frame has an upper section for the male dead and a lower for the female. The date of death is written on the back of each tablet. In the center of each section is a strip with a Chinese character written on it. The upper or male section has the character, *kishin*, with a meaning similar to *returning to the source* (*moto ni kaeru*). The lower or female section has the character *reii*, suggesting that *your spirit is in this place*. The tablets are placed in an order, the first to the left of the middle character, the second to the right, so that the last placed ones are toward the outer edge.



(*Arrangement of the Memorial Tablets* (*ihai*)

778 782 The frequent occasions throughout the year when devotions are made at the altar have already been described in many of the preceding pages. These can be summarized by saying that offerings and prayers are made (1) to commemorate important dates in an individual's life, like birth, the first birthday, engagement, marriage, death, and the anniversary of a death, (2) during holidays and festivals in which honoring the dead and thanksgiving are dominant themes, and (3) at times of individual and private religious worship or prayer. Some women pray daily after placing a cup of tea, a bowl of rice and a burning charcoal stick on the altar. Others observe the 1st and the 15th of the lunar month.

771 This household Buddhism, centering around the altar, has no institutional basis. There are no Buddhist temples in any of the villages. Family worship at the altar is both an honoring of the ancestral dead and also, it would seem, an acceptance of the merciful and humane doctrines of the Buddhist faith. Buddhism traditionally is the religion of consolation at death. The fact that ancestor worship takes place at the Buddhist altar, however, does not mean that this is a religion in a doctrinal sense. One has been grafted on to the other. [182]

4

Ancestor Worship

"Ancestor worship" has been used to describe the devotion to the spirit of the dead and the long continued remembrance of them by the living. While it is too deeply intrenched to be changed, the term is not satisfactory. It is really the worship of those who precede one in death, and these may be ascendants or descendants. The term, "ancestor worship," also conceals the fact that there is a partnership of the living and the dead, which, continued by the living generation in the production of children, will carry over in the future, so that family continuity from the remote past to the remote future is never broken. It is, in the phrase of John Hubbard, "a chain of worship,"[2] not merely the worship of the past and of the dead. But whether in the popular mind these two conceptions, worship of the dead and the family as a continuity, are closely and consciously related is impossible for me to say. The two ideas exist side by side on the level of feeling: to respect one's ancestors and to have children. 769 602

Another form of ancestor worship occurs in observances honoring the first ancestor or the founder of the village. Each village has a place of the guardian god (*ujigami*), located on the supposed site where the founder of the village first settled, which perpetuates the memory of the founder, who may, in some cases, also be the first ancestor of a family living in the village. (It has been suggested that the *ujigami* also might be related historically to the fire deity). Ceremonies at the place of the village guardian god have a public character and were often conducted by the priestesses. 776 778 [793]

Hanashiro. The place of the guardian god, a small building, is located on a plot of village owned land, off the main road at the edge of the settlement where the cultivated land begins. It is not well kept up. There is no attendant or caretaker. When necessary, it is reconstructed by volunteer village effort. Broken stone stairs lead up to the small tile roofed building. Inside, there are 5 stones, about 10 inches on the side and 4 inches thick. Some have thought these also represent the primitive hearth stones associated with worship of the fire god. One villager described it as a woman's deity place. Before the war, emigrants to the South Seas, South America, Manchuria, or Japan and their relatives prayed here for the good health and early return of those departing. [346] [358] [167]

Now there is public worship at the place on several occasions during the year. On the 3rd day of the 3rd month, a woman's holiday, women and children go to the seashore around Minatogawa, and, on returning, pray at the place of the guardian god. On *O-Bon*, the village lion appears in front of this site. There is *samisen* playing and the whole village offers a prayer. (Not all villages have the lion costume. 778 796 [536] [825]

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[2] Quoted in L. Cranmer-Byng, The vision of Asia, New York, 1933, 42.

778 One person in front fills in the head and forelegs, another in back
796 provides the rear and hindlegs. The lion, with its human mechanism,
is a common sight at festivals and parades. It is a symbol of health
536 and strength worthy of imitation). In the Festival of the Full Moon,
825 during the autumnal equinox, the lion appears again and the whole village
participates in prayers before the festivities begin.

778 On the 1st and 15th of each lunar month, the headman goes to the
place of the guardian god and makes an offering of tea, burns a charcoal
796 stick, and says a prayer. On the 9th day of the 9th lunar month, the
[764] village council and the elders assemble before the village burial
palanquin (gan), offer prayer at the founder's site and then before the
[825] village office where the lion is standing.

Minatogawa. This village has three deity places and various explanations are given for this. Some believe that two of them represent
778 sites of co-founders, a first son, and his younger brother, the second
son. The third site is vaguely known as a village god place. It is
776 a small outdoor place of worship on the main village road, with a step
and a shelf for charcoal sticks. The founders' sites are located in
the center of the settled area, but on different sides of the road. In
the site of the second son, there are three stones, shaped like life
savers but with a bottom for placing the charcoal sticks, three glasses
for tea, and three bottles. The site of the supposed first son, less
well kept, has a small altar, four stones, tea cups, and cans for the
burning of incense.

778 On New Year and at O-Bon, the whole, or substantial portions, of
the village pray first at the supposed first son's site, then at the
796 second son's. Prayers are offered also at the roadside deity place.
[782] Some of the younger villagers hope that as the older residents die off,
the expenses of providing offerings and upkeep for all three can be
[358] eliminated and that simpler observances can take place at the roadside
shrine. The situation now is complicated by the fact that many people
regard themselves as descendants of one or the other co-founder.

778 Matsuda. In this village, the founder's site is reached by stairs
leading up a hillside. It is in the settled area near a dense growth
184 of trees and shrubs. Close by there is a shed in which the lion skin
is kept. In this village the founder's site seemed less important than
[793] another religious place, on the main road, in which women of lesser
rank in the former priestess system participate in ceremonies. In this
village there seems to be less participation by all the people of the
village at the place of the guardian or founder deity, and, instead,
representatives, like the headman, elders, and the former priestesses
[796] conduct the ceremonies at New Year, O-Bon, and at the equinoctial
holidays.

5

Survivals of the Priestess (Noro) System

The origin of the priestess system has been traced to primitive 779
fire or hearth worship. A woman was a priestess to the God of Fire 793
(hi no kami) represented in the hearth stone. A set of three rather 372
long stones sometimes set in a triangle often represented the hearth. 354
(These stones in the place of the guardian gods of the village may have the same meaning. In the poorer kitchens, stones set in this manner for the hearth are common to this day). In every house there was a primitive hearth (kanaio). "Here, before this hearth, the ancestors of the household are worshipped, the Fire coming to summarize the ancestors who have sat before the hearth in past generations."[3] Each household of a village, each village, and each township had a hearth attendant. The priestess (noro) of the whole township "represents the original worship of the predominant hearth of that 793
region." The duties of the rural priestesses included worshipping at the ancestral shrines, deciding the lucky days for planting, and officiating at marriage and burial ceremonies.

This priestess system was made an institutionalised state religion 779
by King Shō Shin (1477-1526). Their political power was broken by 793
Shōjōken, a prime minister of King Shō Tei (1669-1709). The most logi- 178
cal explanation offered for their fall from political power is the influence of Confucianism with its standards of male dominance and the subordination of women. By the end of the 17th century, its economic and political power were declining, but its influence on individual worship, especially, in rural Okinawa, lasted down to the beginning of the recent war.[4]

793
The priestess system had a place in inheritance customs of the 423
old land tenure system. "Under the ancient system," said Spencer, 428
"certain valuable farm lands were the possession of the Noro, the remainder of the land being held by the community and reassigned at various periods."[5] Inheritance within the system insured the handing down of these properties in the female line. This succession could be accomplished in a number of ways. The female child of the brother of a priestess might succeed her. This is believed to be the method of succession in ancient times. In later times, the noro married and succession was traced in the male line. The wife of a son of the priestess,

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[3] This material is based on the article of R. S. Spencer, Noro or Priestesses of Loo-Choo, as cited. The quotation is on p. 97.

[4] Ibid, 98, 108.

[5] Ibid, 109. The material following is to be found on p. 110.

793 or her granddaughter might succeed her. In earlier times, priestesses
423 were unmarried. But with private ownership in land the fields owned by
428 the priestess were divided according to the new laws and fell into
possession of the priestess' family.

Spencer pointed out in his discussion of their status in 1931 that
793 they still had considerable influence. There was one in practically every
village, although they were losing out to the female fortune tellers (yuta).
[791] Spencer cited the case of the principal of the primary school at Itoman who could get controversial plans adopted readily if a priestess sponsored them. This was over 30 years after the abolition of the old allotment system, and their economic power had vanished. But they were important figures in festivals and holidays. Their private services included advice and prayer on journeys and business undertakings. This brief summary of their past history will make the discussion that follows clearer.

793 The Japanese discouraged the priestess system, regarding it as a
178 superstition. In the years immediately preceding the war, the priestesses seem to have prospered more in the northern district of Okinawa. By 1951, the noros were virtually forgotten, victims of a long decline, Japanese discouragement, the war, public indifference, and the conviction, among the young and middle aged people, that the priestesses taught only superstitions (meishin) like the fortune tellers and the soothsayers.

Hanashiro had a priestess before the war; when she died, there was no young female relative to replace her. Now there are none in Hanashiro, Nagamo, or Minatogawa. Their failure to revive after the war is attributed by the villagers to the influence of education among the people. In Matsuda, there are some last survivals of the system, but the Ginosa priestess has also died, and there was no one to replace her.

793 Before the war, the priestess (noro in Japanese, nuru in Okinawan) and her assistants conducted services in Matsuda.[6] The priestess, who was then about 60, lived in Ginosa village, and was carried by two men on a palanquin (kago) from her village to Matsuda. The high priestess and her assistants constituted a ten woman group. The first in rank after her lived in Ginosa, and the other eight in Matsuda. These participants in the festivals and religious ceremonies were known as kannushi-san (Japanese) or kamichuyu (Okinawan). The priestess was assisted by a second woman, first in rank after the noro herself (uchigami in Okinawan), a third (nigami in Okinawan), and the fourth (yurashigami in Okinawan). The fifth to ninth women were learners and followers. They could be either young or old women. All ranks wore a simple garment, similar in cut to a kimono, made of white gauze-like material. For a head covering, a piece of the same material was wrapped around the head like a towel. Four men attended the priestess and her women assistants but only at public ceremonies.

[115] [6] The material which follows is based on information from a lady about 50, a resident of Matsuda, who was a second ranking assistant (nigami) to the noro. She now operates a tiny store in Matsuda.

The group sat in a circle. The priestess occupied the highest 793
spot, her female assistants somewhat lower places, and the men, for 796
once, in the lowest position. The priestess, her women and the male
entourage held public worship on the 15th day of the 5th, the 15th
and 16th day of the 6th, and the 10th day of the 8th lunar months.
On these days there were prayers for good crops, for freedom from [782]
disasters and typhoon damage. On the 10th day of the 8th month,
there were special prayers that neither diseases nor epidemics enter
Hatsuda. These three periods may be rest days on which the villagers
may assemble at the place where the prayers are being offered. Because there is no priestess, these ceremonies are now conducted by
former assistants. The meetings are attended by fewer and fewer
people and the ceremonies may disappear altogether.

6

Gods of the Fire, Wells, and Sacred Groves

There are also other forms of worship which still survive. These 776
are (1) the god of fire (hi no kami), (2) spirits of the sea, of wells,
springs, and groves, and (3) types of fortune telling which blend into [787]
religious belief.

Gods of the Fire. In every Okinawan kitchen, there is a place 776
above the stove or hearth dedicated to the kitchen or the fire god.
There is no image or personification of the god. Usually the place 778
is a very small shelf on which charcoal sticks are burned for the god
of the hearth. This is done by women exclusively. The women may 372
light the sticks daily, but it is more usual for the housewife to perform the observance on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. This was 782
true of all the villages, and I have never seen a kitchen which lacked [562]
a place for the fire god.[7]

Gods of the Well (ido no kami). In Hanashiro, prayers are offered 776
in front of the two public wells on lunar New Year. The whole village
does not participate. Two or three older men from each extended family 778
perform the rite. The gods of the well are told that the villagers need
water; they are thanked for what they have had, and asked to continue to 796
furnish a plentiful supply.

[7] The Shinto god shelf (kamidana) is extremely rare. In my observation, 177
it was present only in the homes of Okinawans who had lived in Japan.
One in Hatsuda, located in the first room, had two shelves, on both 184
of which a small urn for burning incense sticks was placed between
two flower vases. The place on the left represents the founder, the
one on the right, his immediate descendant. The family prays to the
Shinto god on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. The husband and
wife pray first, followed by the children. A rice offering is placed
on the shelf. On it there was a small figurine of the fox god (inarisan) and a mirror, both Shinto symbols.

778 Similar worship may take place at a spring (izumi). Near
Oushichan village there is a large spring. Stone stairs have been built
796 up, amphitheatre-like, around it. Prayers are offered by villagers, or
substantial numbers of them, on New Year and on the 5th day of the 5th
lunar month. In daily life, the spring is a favorite place for laundering
and bathing.

776 There are three well gods in Minatogawa, and they are worshipped
at the three public wells scattered throughout the village. The people
778 of the village, or large numbers of them, assemble at these wells for
prayer at various times of the year, the most important being on New
796 Year and on boat racing day. Sake and a box of candy are placed before
the well as offerings of thanks for water.

This village has also a place for the worship of the sea god. This is a simple stone on a small shelf, on a barren spot of the seashore, scarcely distinguishable from the rocks scattered in natural disarray by the waves. In a high wind, the remains of the offerings and the charcoal sticks are swept out to sea. The most important observance here occurs on the 4th day of the 5th month, the day of the sea festival and the boat races. Fishermen come to the place by boat and make offerings of sharks' fins. On this day, the whole village assembles twice to pray at the spot, once before, and once after the races and the celebration. Individual or family worship is common on New Year and at O-Bon. On the equinoctial holiday of the full moon, the headman, the heads of the neighborhood groups, the council and retired elder men assemble, offer thanks and pray for continued plenty from the sea. Very close to the palace of the sea god, a short round stick of bamboo or of thick miscanthus may be stuck in a pile of rocks. Near the top, a dried fish (usually the ika) tail is placed in a slit. In the center there is a slit for another but larger part of the dried fish.

776 The palace of the mountain god, though its identity is uncertain,
778 is near the palace of the sea god. It is under an overhanging rock
along the seashore. This seems an unusual place for the home of a
178 mountain god, but seafarers may have prayed to the god in thanks for
guiding them safely in. It seems now to have fallen into disuse. It is
now partially overgrown with pandanus and little is known of the place.

776 Matsuda. In Matsuda, there are beliefs in well, mountain top, and
tree grove spirits. There are 8 wells here and family groups usually
778 divide up and worship at one of the wells. After drinking some of the
782 water, thanks are offered to the well god.

The gods of the mountain top and the tree groves are difficult to
776 understand. Little seems to be known about them locally, and it is
128 difficult to disengage historical from religious elements.

One popular explanation is that these gods were the intentional
[176] invention of Saion, the 18th century statesman and authority on forestry
and agriculture. But this seems highly unlikely. It is more likely
784 that Saion capitalized on the ancient interdict against cutting down
778

trees of the sacred grove and used old beliefs to preserve the 784
forests. Formerly it was believed that misfortune would come to 778
him who cut a tree in groves sacred to these gods. If the trees 185
were cut, the god would become angry, the person cutting the tree
would be the victim of self-induced illness and by worrying about
his deed, gradually would become ill, and perhaps die. These sacred 778
groves, whose religious significance is now almost ignored, are
arranged to enclose the village from three directions, with the open 823
side on the south. On the north was the sacred grove in the back
(*ushiro no utaki*) or the grove of the white gold mountain (*kinpuku
utaki* in Okinawan). The mountain gods were supposed to live here. [776]
On the west was the grove in front (*mae no utaki*) on the white silver
mountain. This was also known as the fire shrine.

The priestesses also had a hand in this worship of the mountain 778
gods. There are about seven of these places of worship now, and there 793
is still a voluntary caretaker, an old woman with tattooed hands, a
family priestess (*nigami*) in the old system. Occasionally one sees an
old woman going to a grove to pray. The only other visitors are the
farmers who walk along the paths of the grove on their way to the fields.

7

Other Religious Observances

There are a few other observations which may have some interest. 789
Old women use patches of grass or knotted rice straw to ward off the 824
spirits on days when they are thought to be abroad in great numbers.
At the festival of the autumnal equinox, knotted or braided grass (*shiba*)
is placed in various parts of the house. In some houses, bunches are
suspended from the cross beams, perhaps three or four bunches to the
side. They may be placed in the toilet, at the entrance to the house
compound, on the water barrel in the kitchen, on the front and back of
fishing boats, or in the interior of the house. Blades of *miscanthus*
grass may be tied around the neck of a bean paste jug (*misogami*).
Spirits, plentiful at this time, are frightened away by the patches of
grass and will not enter. The young, while not believing in this, acquiesce [184]
to avoid making the old angry.

When a death anniversary is being celebrated, there may be a blade [769]
of *miscanthus*, a rice straw, or a knotted blade of grass on the top of
a box of candies or sweet meats to prevent the intrusion of evil spirits. [776]
A blade of grass (the *san*) is occasionally tied around the handle of a
tea pot. For the first week after a family death, tea is served from a
pot which has this blade of grass. But these are almost invariably the
observances of the old and are only infrequently seen. These customs, [184]
observed in Minatogawa, are said to survive among the very old in the
other villages.

In Matsuda, a rice rope (*shimenawa*) was observed at one home. The [777]
rice rope, a Shinto symbol, is not common in Okinawan culture. This [184]

789 rope was hung across the entrance of the family compound two times
824 a year, on the 9th day of the 8th month, and on the 8th day of the
12th month. Along the rope, there were knotted blades of grass,
also the *san* plant. The purpose is to frighten away evil spirits
and evil doers. One peculiarity of this twisted rice rope is that
283 it is made in a different manner from the ordinary rope. The usual
rope is a twist made by rolling the fibre between the palms to the right
or away from the body. In this special rope, the roll is reversed and
is to the left or toward the body. It is difficult for a person already
skilled in the regular method. This villager told of going to two *noro*
[793] priestesses in the village of Yabu who specialized in teaching this
method of making ropes. The husband and the wife received instruction,
paying about ¥40 for it because the wife believed in the efficacy of
the practice. Each year at the proper times, the husband now makes
the special rope himself.

787 Some fortune telling practices shade into religious beliefs,
791 just as religious customs have also included soothsaying and divination.
The *noros* and the Buddhist priests formerly practiced some fortune
184 telling. There were no fortune tellers in any of the villages studied,
but villagers occasionally consult them. Here, too, the patronage comes
largely from the old and from the women. Younger people, if they know
about them, regard these practices as superstitions unworthy of belief.
The word *meishin* (superstition) is frequently heard among the young in
describing customs and beliefs of the old. The sign of the fortune
791 teller (*sanjinsō*) is the Chinese character for three written three
[212] times. These characters are said to signify the three states of existence, pre-natal, the present, and the afterlife, on all of which the
fortune teller is well versed. Those in Hanashiro and Minatogawa who
wish to consult a fortune teller go to Itoman; those in Matsuda go to
Nago. The cost is usually from ¥40-50 a visit. Typical reasons for a
consultation with a fortune teller are: (1) to find out if an ill person
will become well, (2) among the fishermen, to find out if the fishermen
will return when an unexpected storm has arisen, (3) to discover if a
present unhappiness has been caused by the evil deed of an ancestor and
if this can be corrected, and (4) to find out the lucky days for such
undertakings as marriages, building a house, or beginning new phases of
construction.

782 Old women may utter a prayer on seeing a child fall, fearing that
774 the child's spirit might escape because of surprise or fright. (This
was observed in Minatogawa).

778 In Matsuda, there were shelves for burning charcoal sticks in some
of the numerous caves in the area. The nature of the worship could not
be ascertained, but they may be offerings to deities of the cave.

514 Worship and prayers in the toilet seem to have completely disappeared. There were no personified toilet gods. The toilet apparently
[776] was the place in which thanks were given that a place for excrement had
been provided. In all the villages, it was said to be an old belief
782 which has now died out. There was no shelf or special place of worship
178 in The Toilet.

in the toilet. 000.

Religious beliefs shade into other aspects of village life, such as honoring the dead, the obligations of the family system, and the celebration of public holidays and festivals. The war has hastened the decline of many of the old beliefs we have been describing. The inability of the old, during the war and its aftermath, to communicate a body of belief to the newer generation has meant that now, even more than before, religious beliefs and customs are dying out rapidly and henceforth will appear only in vague outlines to inquiring scholarship.

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771

178

CONCLUSION

The description of village life presented in the preceding pages 128
is not the delineation of an ancient way of life essentially unchanged
from the remote past. Neither is it the study of an old way of living 178
which is now passing away. Rather it is a glimpse of a culture, at
a particular moment in time, which has been changing, sometimes slowly,
sometimes with great rapidity. The theme of inertia and change, developed
in the second chapter, furnishes an opportunity for understanding the
culture in the perspective of history. Even though the changes of the
last decade have been impressive, they are less striking when placed
beside some of the great changes of the past.

This small island, known to Oriental antiquity and to the Western 177
world after the Age of Discovery, is an excellent illustration of the
combination of influences from the outside and of the progressive 311
changes made in the natural environment as a consequence of long human
settlement. This theme, imperfectly documented, has repeatedly appeared 182
in this work in order that the affinities of soil and land conservation
and forest care with social and cultural questions, such as organization
of government, the family system, and economic problems may be recognized.

This idea of a changing culture, in a physical environment of
meticulous tillage and of minute subdivision, enables us to see more 178
clearly the inter-relationships of the family system, inheritance, land
tenure, the care and conservation of the land, and the methods of agri- 182
culture. It is the values within the family system that have given con- 311
tent and meaning to the natural resources, to the tiny paddies, the stony
sweet potato patches, and the barren wild land. The tombs and the grave
sites also find a place in this minute appraisal of the value and the
use of land.

This minute knowledge of the land, obvious as it is to observation, 311
is one of the outstanding cultural characteristics of the people. In-
deed this is true of other Oriental peoples as well, even though their 181
preferences have been for the transported soils of the alluvial plains
and the deltas. This detailed knowledge of land, of its productivity
as guaged by the farmers' patient success in tilling it, is used to build
up the system of land classification.

No less striking is the intimate knowledge of small localities. A tiny village may have five or six of these localities, dignified with a name which, in our culture, would be given to a portion of a large city. Every little spot has a name, even though the origins and the circumstances of the naming are lost in hazy memory.

In this use and tillage of land, perhaps the most important com-
parison to be made is that, unlike China, Japan, and Korea, dry land and [171]
upland agriculture is the chief reliance of the people. There are no
Yangtse river deltas and no Kanto plains in Okinawa. The care, conserva-
tion and use of land have crept up the hillsides over the most settled

311 parts of the island, and the small deltas, the tiny alluvial plains,
181 the short and narrow valleys are left to produce what little rice can be grown.

Okinawa is not Japan and perhaps it is unrewarding to attempt
171 comparisons between the Okinawans and the Japanese. Okinawa is an island whose rural life is but little disturbed by urban development.
369 Only two places, Naha and Shuri, could be classified as small cities. Important places like Nago, Ishikawa, and Yonabaru are only small towns.

Japan is a culture rich in both its rural and its urban life. The investigation of the life of the great metropolitan cities of Japan is more scattered in specialized studies, more casual, perhaps more impressionistic than the study of some of its villages. Japanese and Okinawan rural life have many things in common, though the Japanese experience may now be distinctly different because of the land reform.

But along with the rural village, there are the great cities of Tokyo, Yokohama, Kyoto, Osaka, Kobe, and Nagoya, and these circumstances make an appraisal of Japanese culture even more complex and elusive.

177 Certainly the long cultural ties with Japan have left their impressions on the people of Okinawa. The Japanese language, the Japanese system of education, altered after the war, Japanese tools, and Japanese literature are clear examples of this direct influence. But there are differences too. Adoption is much less common in Okinawa. The Buddhist influence, except for the altars of household Buddhism, is weak. The Okinawans, during the war, seemed less inclined than the Japanese toward fanatical self-sacrifice in behalf of the emperor cult.

157 In this work, I have avoided discussing the popular subject of the "psychology" of the people. After a few commonplaces, one embarks
128 on a series of impressions which may or may not have validity and which most certainly would be subject to endless qualification. I have therefore, for the most part, left the characteristics of the people to emerge from the descriptions of their historical experience, their social organization, and their family and community life, trusting that from these details one can form an impression of the way in which a people are living and how they meet the manifold problems which confront them.

156 In my own studies, I have been impressed with the feeling of belonging which seems to be the possession of the individual from infancy until his children lay him to rest in the family tomb. There is also a stability in family life, and this stability does not seem so pivoted, as in our culture, on the continued mutual love and affection of the father and the mother. There also seems to be little stress on personal competition.

The infant as well as the mature adult are conditioned to conformity both by the historical obligations and duties under the family

system and by the public life which they lead. There is a blending 156
and shading of the private life of the home with the public life of
the lanes, the shops, and the homes of others. The process is so
subtle that one can live among them and be unaware of it. But
children do more than grow up. They grow and reach maturity impressed
with their duties and obligations. It is this cultural environment,
rather than single element explanations such as breast feeding, which in [155]
my opinion accounts for the politeness, the essential gentleness, and
the sense of security of the people. These characteristics can best
be understood by knowing history, by knowing how people live within a
family, how families live together, what these groups of families do to
their arable land, their plants, their stones, their trees, and their
forested and wild land, and how the private life of an individual or
a family blends in with the wider public experience of the community.

The recent war has been a powerful agent of cultural change in 727
Okinawa. The destruction of the south, the comparative well-being 178
of the north have equalized the roles of the two great divisions of
the island, and the north is no longer a rustic hinterland. The years 184
of military service in the Japanese army interfered with the transmission
of the traditional culture from the old to the young. One of the striking
aspects is the differences in types of information possessed by the old
and the young. Men fifty years or over speak of things of which younger
men and women have never heard. What is part of one man's culture is
foreign to the other.

Before the war success in transmitting the traditional culture to [867]
the young depended to a great extent on the hierarchy of the family
system and its scale of values. Women were subordinated to men and the [593]
younger deferred to the elder. Obedience of children and acknowledgment
of parental leadership were said to characterize the pre-war society. In
many ways, all these things still do. But there are indications of a
growing dependence of the older on the advice and knowledge of the young.

The war and its aftermath produced conditions favorable to the
leadership of younger people, especially younger men. It was easy for
them to drive trucks. It was no chore to become acquainted with Americans [177]
and adapt themselves to their ways. They could learn, and comprehend
more easily, some of the Western concepts implicit in governmental change.
A twenty year old is not impressed with skill at typing. A sixty year
old person looks upon this skill with a certain wonder.

The destruction of pre-war housing and its replacement by inferior [362]
makeshift housing have had an unsettling effect on village life. Sleeping
habits and living arrangements were disrupted. The destruction
even affected the use of rainwater coming from the drains on the tile
roofs. It converted villages with their houses and an occasional
garden into a camp-like atmosphere.

The post-war repatriation often brought to villagers a more personal [167]
awareness of the outside world. Those who returned, especially from the [177]
non-Oriental countries, created an atmosphere congenial to change.

727 In the post-war period also roads have increased, and they
178 have been widened. More vehicles are on the roads. One can travel
through the villages of Okinawa over widened roads which before the
184 war probably differed little from those described by Captain Hall
in 1816 and by his grandson Basil Hall Chamberlain in 1895. This
[491] extension of the highway system has increased the mobility of Okinawans.
Perhaps ultimately the cultural differences among villages will give way
[484] to wider uniformity induced by these innovations.

There is something enthralling in reading the chapters on "Lew Chew"
119 in Francis Hawks' *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to
the China Seas and Japan*, which he compiled from the notes and journals
178 of Commodore Perry, and the pages of Bayard Taylor's work, along with
Okinawa, The Last Battle, which the Historical Division of the Department
of the Army published in 1948. These give some measure of the change
that has been brought about not only in the Great Loo Choo but in the
world.

It has been my purpose here to tell part of the remaining, the
121 contemporary story of the people whose islands early ethnologists were
so fond of referring to as an anthropological museum.

The End

GLOSSARY OF JAPANESE WORDS

This glossary includes only the most commonly used words appearing in the text. Specialized words may be found in the appropriate chapters. Okinawan words are followed by an O in parentheses.

akiue	fall planting
bakemono	an evil spirit
bōchi	tomb area, grave
bōfurin	shelter belt or grove for typhoon protection.
bōkasen	fire lane
bōzu-san	a Buddhist priest
bunke	branch family
chō	2.45 acres
chōnan	first son
daizu	soy bean
dake (O)	tattooing
dakkoki	rice treadle thresher
dōnen	same year (see also dōsei).
dōsei	same age, used as a synonym for classmate.
fujinkai	women's association
futon	comforter or quilt
gakka	subject (in a school course)
gan	a funeral hearse or palanquin
ganya	a building housing the gan.
genya	non-arable, wild or stony, but useful land
geta	wooden clogs
giri	duty, obligation
go	.04756 gallons liquid
gochisō	a feast, treat, or any meal out of the ordinary
hafu	a gable; the gable type Okinawan tomb
haisho	religious site
haka	tomb
han	a subdivision, or neighborhood, into which a village is divided.
hanchō	the head or leader of a han.
haru ue	spring planting
hatake	dry crop land
hasukashii	to be shy
hera	trowel or spatula
hi no kami	god of fire
higan	the Buddhist spring and autumnal equinoctial holiday
hinpun (O)	protective stationary barrier gate at the entrance of a house compound.
hoanrin	groves of trees for typhoon protection (collective term).
honke	main family
hotoke-san (sama)	a god, usually in the Buddhist pantheon
hykujō	import store
ichimon (munchu O)	extended family
ido no kami	god of the well
ihai	red lacquered pieces of wood used as memorial tablets

104

	for the dead on the Buddhist home altar
ireisumi	tattooing
jinpun (O)	night soil
jiru	hearth, also refers colloquially to convalescence after childbirth
jiwari-seido	the old land allotment system
Jōdoshu	the Jōdo Buddhist sect
joshiseinen	young women's association
joyaku	vice-mayor
Jūgoya	festival of the full moon held around the time of the autumnal equinox
jūrokunichi	16th day. Holiday of 1st lunar month. See Chap. 17, Sect. 2
kachiku	domestic animals
kagami	mirror
kago	palanquin
kaibatsu	clearcutting (of a forest)
kaikon	a clearing
kaitaku	land reclamation
kakemono	hanging scroll
kama	a small sickle or bill knife
kamekokata	a designation for the turtle back tomb
kanbatsu	overcutting (of a forest)
katabui (O)	here and there rain, an Okinawan term for local scattered showers
kaya	any wild grass, usually refers to miscanthus.
kaya	a mosquito net
kazoku-seido	the family system
kasura	a slip, a clone
kekkonshiki	the marriage ceremony
kokugo	mother tongue
koseki	family register kept in the township office
ku	a hamlet. In the text, village has been used as the equivalent word.
kuchō	a village headman
kumiai	an association, a co-operative
Kunigami	northern district of Okinawa
kuwa	the all purpose short bladed hoe
kyoiku	education
kyūreki	the lunar, literally the old calendar
kyūsaisaku	forest conservation
maguwa (maga O)	harrow
makura	the Japanese pillow
marugari	close clipped haircut (of young boys)
matsuri	a festival
mi-ai	arranged marriage, literally "seeing-meeting"
minshushugi	the doctrine or idea of democracy
miso	bean paste
misoshiru	bean paste soup
mo-ai	mutual loan group. See Chap. 12, Sec. 2
mochi	rice cake
mochigome	rice-cake-rice, glutinous rice

moto ni kaeru	return to the source. See Chap. 16, Sect. 2
muikajari (mansan 0)	celebration on the naming of a child, usually on the 5th or 6th day.
mukoyoshi	groom adoption
mushiro	a straw or reed mat rolled up when not in use
naidoko	a seed bed
nakōdo	go-between
natsu ue	summer planting
nōgyō	agriculture
nōgyōkumiai	agricultural association
noro	an Okinawan priestess. See Chap. 20
nōson	an agricultural village
nuka	rice chaff
obi	sash
O-Bon	a holiday of the 15th and 16th of the 7th lunar month. See Chap. 17, Sect. 4.
Okinawa	Okinawa Island, the Great Loochoo Island of the 19th Century Western explorers
Okinawago	Okinawan language or speech
ombu	term for the custom of carrying the child on the back
Ōmisoka	last day of the lunar year
ren-ai	free choice in marriage; sometimes translated as romantic love.
rinsaku	crop rotation
rishi	interest (on money)
sabishii	lonesome, lonely, loneliness mixed with melancholy
sakai	boundary
sake	in Okinawa, a strong distilled alcoholic drink like Japanese shōchu. Also called awamori. Not the same as Japanese sake.
sakimui (0)	engagement (prior to marriage)
samisen	a stringed instrument
sanba	a midwife
sanjinsō	fortune teller
sanpatsu (danpachiya 0)	a barber
sanrin	forest land
san-san-kudo	3-3-9 times. ceremonial sake drinking at the marriage ceremony.
satokibi	sugar cane
satsuma imo	sweet potato
seimaisho	rice mill
seimei	full name, given and surname
seinendan	young men's association
seireki	solar, western calendar
seitojo	sugar mill
sensei	teacher
shaku	0.994 feet
shinrui	relatives
shinseki	relatives, used in Okinawa synonymously with shinrui
shiriushi	hand mill or quern for polishing rice

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shiseiji	illegitimate child
shizoku	nobility, gentry
shōgatsu	lunar New Year
shoki	a (village) clerk
sobodan	(volunteer) fire brigade
sōdan suru	to discuss, consult with
son or mura	a township
sonchō	the mayor of a township
soroban	abacus
sōsoku	inheritance
suisankumiai	fishermen's co-operative
suki	plow
sukiyaki	Japanese dish with vegetables, bean curd, etc., with or without a meat or fish base
--sun	bound form, indicating linear measurement. 1 sun (issun) equals about 1.2 inches.
ta, tambo	a paddy field, wet rice plot
taiban	afterbirth
takubatsu	selective cutting (of a forest)
takuchi	house site
tansu	chest of drawers
tatami	a flat mat, about 3' x 6'
tōfu	bean curd
tōkyu	classification, such as land classification
tsubo	unit of land measurement. About 4 square yards, 0.000817 acres, 1/3000 of a chō
tsunahiki	rope tug of war. See Chap. 17, Sect. 5
uino	engagement (prior to marriage)
ujigami	the patron deity of a locality. Also used to include the place or building where the patron deity is worshipped.
undōkai	athletic meet
utaki	sacred grove
wakamizu	new or young water. See Chap. 17, Sect. 1
wara	rice stalks
waratsuna	rice straw rope
waribiki	discount (on a loan)
ya	house, dwelling
yagō	a secondary naming system based on house rank order. See Chap. 6, Sect. 8
yabu	native doctor
yadori (yadui O)	settlements characterised by isolated homesteads, as contrasted with the clustered village
yakuba	the township office
Yambaru	the Northern District of Okinawa, synonymous with Kunigami
Yambaru take	Yambaru bamboo, a dwarf bamboo
yashiki	a house site, synonymous with takuchi.
yashinaoya yashinauya (O)	special form of adoption in which a sickly child has a growing up parent but continues to live with his own parents
yūtonkumiai	a pig raiser's co-operative

yuta	fortune teller
zaisan	family estate
zōrin	afforestation, reforestation, or loosely, care and maintenance of forest lands

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[In his discussion of kinship Glacken uses the term "extended family" to mean the patrilineal sib (ichimon or munchu)].

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[For information on mutual loan associations or mutual finance groups see pp. 244-249.]